

V. I. LENIN

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The present volume follows the sixth Russian edition of *Marx-Engels Marxism* by V. I. Lenin prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow. The only exceptions are the excerpts from *What Is To Be Done?* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* which are reproduced here as abbreviated by the author in the 1908 publication of the books in question.

A list of Russian newspapers and periodicals as well as an index of writings by Marx and Engels quoted by Lenin and a subject index, are appended.

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MARX — ENGELS — MARXISM

The present volume contains some of the most important of Lenin's writings on the life and activities of Marx and Engels and their revolutionary theory.

The volume opens with the articles on "Karl Marx," "Frederick Engels," "The Marx-Engels Correspondence," "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" and "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" which serve, as it were, as a general summary of Marxism. The rest are arranged in chronological order.

Lenin's writings assembled in the present, sixth, Russian edition are reproduced from the third and fourth Russian editions of the *Collected Works* or the fourth Russian edition of the *Two-Volume Edition of Selected Works*. The dates of some of the letters of Marx and Engels quoted by Lenin have been corrected. The footnotes are Lenin's unless otherwise stated.

The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute

KARL MARX

Karl Marx was born May 5, 1818, in the city of Treves (Rhenish Prussia). His father was a lawyer, a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from the *gymnasium* in Treves, Marx entered university, first at Bonn and later at Berlin, where he studied jurisprudence and, chiefly, history and philosophy. He concluded his course in 1841, submitting his doctoral dissertation on the philosophy of Epicurus. In his views Marx at that time was still a Hegelian idealist. In Berlin he belonged to the circle of "Left Hegelians" (Bruno Bauer and others), who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy.

After graduating from the university, Marx moved to Bonn, expecting to become a professor. But the reactionary policy of the government—which in 1832 deprived Ludwig Feuerbach of his chair and in 1836 refused to allow him to return to the university, and in 1841 forbade the young professor, Bruno Bauer, to lecture at Bonn—forced Marx to abandon the idea of pursuing an academic career. At that time the views of the Left Hegelians were developing very rapidly in Germany. Ludwig Feuerbach began to criticize theology, particularly so in 1836 and after, and to turn to materialism, which in 1841 gained the upper hand in his philosophy (*Das Wesen des Christentums* [*The Essence of Christianity*]); in 1843 his *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft* [*Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*] appeared. "One must himself have experienced the liberating effect" of these books, Engels subsequently wrote of these works of Feuerbach. "We [*i.e.*, the Left Hegelians in-

cluding Marx] all became at once Feuerbachians."¹ At that time some Rhenish radical bourgeois who had certain points in common with the Left Hegelians founded an opposition paper in Cologne, the *Rheinische Zeitung* (*Rhenish Gazette*)—the first number appeared on January 1, 1842. Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors. In October 1842 Marx became chief editor and removed from Bonn to Cologne. The revolutionary-democratic trend of the paper became more and more pronounced under Marx's editorship. The government first subjected the paper to double and triple censorship and then, on January 1, 1843, decided to suppress it altogether. Marx had to resign the editorship about that time, but his resignation did not save the paper, which was closed down in March 1843. Of the more important articles contributed by Marx to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels notes, in addition to those indicated below (see *Bibliography*),² an article on the condition of the peasant wine-growers of the Moselle Valley. His journalistic activities convinced Marx that he was not sufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he zealously set out to study it.

In 1843, in Kreuznach, Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend to whom he had been engaged while still a student. His wife came from a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility. Her elder brother was Prussian Minister of the Interior at a most reactionary period, 1850-58. In the autumn of 1843 Marx went to Paris in order, together with Arnold Ruge (born 1802, died 1880; a Left Hegelian; in 1825-30, in prison; after 1848, a political exile; after 1866-70, a Bismarckian), to publish a radical magazine abroad. Only one issue of this magazine, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, appeared. It was discontinued owing to the difficulty of secret distribution in Germany and to disagreements with Ruge. In his articles in this magazine Marx already appears as a revolutionist: he advocates the "merciless criticism of everything existing," and in particular the "criticism of arms," and appeals to the masses and to the proletariat.

¹ F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Eng. ed., 1946, p. 22.—Ed.

² I.e., the *Bibliography of Marxism*, which Lenin appended to the original article is omitted in this edition.—Ed

In September 1844 Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time forth became Marx's closest friend. They both took a most active part in the then seething life of the revolutionary groups in Paris (of particular importance was Proudhon's doctrine, which Marx thoroughly demolished in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847), and, vigorously combating the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois Socialism, worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary *proletarian Socialism*, or Communism (Marxism). See Marx's works of this period, 1844-48, in the *Bibliography*. In 1845, on the insistent demand of the Prussian government, Marx was banished from Paris as a dangerous revolutionist. He removed to Brussels. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League, took a prominent part in the Second Congress of the League (London, November 1847), and at its request drew up the famous *Communist Manifesto*, which appeared in February 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines the new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of the class struggle and of the historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of the new, Communist society.

When the Revolution of February 1848 broke out, Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March Revolution, he went to Germany, again to Cologne. There the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849; Marx was the chief editor. The new theory was brilliantly corroborated by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, as it has been since corroborated by all proletarian and democratic movements of all countries in the world. The victorious counter-revolution first instituted court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on February 9, 1849) and then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). Marx first went to Paris, was again banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849 and then went to London, where he lived to the day of his death.

His life as a political exile was a very hard one, as the cor-

respondence between Marx and Engels (published in 1913)¹ clearly reveals. Marx and his family suffered dire poverty. Had it not been for Engels' constant and self-sacrificing financial support, Marx would not only have been unable to bring his work on *Capital* to a conclusion, but would have inevitably perished from want. Moreover, the prevailing doctrines and trends of petty-bourgeois Socialism, and of non-proletarian Socialism in general, forced Marx to carry on a continuous and merciless fight and sometimes to repel the most savage and monstrous personal attacks (*Herr Vogt*). Holding aloof from the circles of political exiles, Marx developed his materialist theory in a number of historic works (see *Bibliography*), devoting his efforts chiefly to the study of political economy. Marx revolutionized this science (see below, "The Marxian Doctrine") in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867).

The period of revival of the democratic movements at the end of the 'fifties and in the 'sixties recalled Marx to practical activity. In 1864 (September 28) the International Workingmen's Association—the famous First International—was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organization; he was the author of its first Address and of a host of resolutions, declarations and manifestoes. By uniting the labour movement of various countries, by striving to direct into the channel of joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxian Socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade unionism in England, Lassalleian vacillations to the Right in Germany, etc.), and by combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries. After the fall of the Paris Commune (1871)—of which Marx gave such a profound, clear-cut, brilliant, *effective* and revolutionary analysis (*The Civil War in France*, 1871), and after the International was split by the Bakunists, the existence of that organization in Europe became impossible. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872) Marx had the General Council of the International transferred to New York.

¹ Hereafter referred to as the *Briefwechsel* (*Correspondence*).—Ed

The First International had accomplished its historical role, and it made way for a period of immeasurably larger growth of the labour movement in all the countries of the world, a period, in fact, when the movement grew in *breadth* and when *mass* Socialist labour parties in individual national states were created.

His strenuous work in the International and his still more strenuous theoretical occupations completely undermined Marx's health. He continued his work on the reshaping of political economy and the completion of *Capital*, for which he collected a mass of new material and studied a number of languages (Russian, for instance); but ill-health prevented him from finishing *Capital*.

On December 2, 1881, his wife died. On March 14, 1883, Marx peacefully passed away in his armchair. He lies buried with his wife and Helène Demuth, their devoted servant, who was almost a member of the family, in the Highgate Cemetery, London.

THE MARXIAN DOCTRINE

Marxism is the system of the views and teachings of Marx. Marx was the genius who continued and completed the three main ideological currents of the nineteenth century, belonging to the three most advanced countries of mankind: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French Socialism together with French revolutionary doctrines in general. The remarkable consistency and integrity of Marx's views, acknowledged even by his opponents, views which in their totality constitute modern materialism and modern scientific Socialism, as the theory and program of the labour movement in all the civilized countries of the world, oblige us to present a brief outline of his world-conception in general before proceeding to the exposition of the principal content of Marxism, namely, Marx's economic doctrine.

PHILOSOPHICAL MATERIALISM

From 1844-45 on, when his views took shape, Marx was a materialist, in particular, a follower of Ludwig Feuerbach, whose weak sides he even later considered to consist exclusively in the fact that his materialism was not consistent and comprehensive enough. Marx regarded the historic and "epoch-making" importance of Feuerbach to be that he had resolutely broken away from Hegelian idealism and had proclaimed materialism, which already "in the eighteenth century, especially in France, had been a struggle not only against the existing political institutions and against ... religion and theology, but also ... against all metaphysics" (in the sense of "intoxicated speculation" as distinct from "sober philosophy"). (*The Holy Family*, in the *Literarischer Nachlaß*.) "To Hegel..." wrote Marx, "the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos [creator] of the real world.... With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. XXX; Author's Preface to the Second Edition) In full conformity with this materialist philosophy of Marx's, and expounding it, Frederick Engels wrote in *Anti-Dühring* (which Marx read in manuscript): "The unity of the world does not consist in its being ... The real unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved ... by a long and tedious development of philosophy and natural science...."¹ "*Motion is the mode of existence of matter*. Never anywhere has there been matter without motion," "motion without matter," "nor can there be...."² "If the ... question is raised: what then are thought and consciousness, and whence they come, it becomes apparent that they are products of the human brain and that man himself is a product of nature, which has been developed in and along with its environment; whence it is self-evident that the

¹ Herr Eugen Dühring's *Revolution in Science* (*Anti-Dühring*), Eng. ed., 1934, p. 54 —Ed

² *Ib. id.*, p. 71 —Ed

products of the human brain, being in the last analysis also products of nature, do not contradict the rest of nature but are in correspondence with it."¹ "Hegel was an idealist, that is to say, the thoughts within his mind were to him not the more or less abstract images [*Abbilder*, reflections; Engels sometimes speaks of "imprints"] of real things and processes, but, on the contrary, things and their development were to him only the images made real of the 'Idea' existing somewhere or other already before the world existed."² In his *Ludwig Feuerbach*—in which he expounds his and Marx's views on Feuerbach's philosophy, and which he sent to the press after re-reading an old manuscript written by Marx and himself in 1844-45 on Hegel, Feuerbach and the materialist conception of history—Frederick Engels writes: "The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of modern philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking and being, . . . of spirit to nature. . . . Which is primary, spirit or nature? . . . The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other . . . comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism."³ Any other use of the concepts of (philosophical) idealism and materialism leads only to confusion. Marx decidedly rejected not only idealism, always connected in one way or another with religion, but also the views, especially widespread in our day, of Hume and Kant, agnosticism, criticism, positivism in their various forms, regarding such a philosophy as a "reactionary" concession to idealism and at best a "shamefaced way of surreptitiously accepting materialism, while denying it before the world."⁴ On this question see, in addition to the above-mentioned works of Engels and Marx, a letter of Marx to Engels dated December 12, 1868, in which Marx, referring to an utterance of the well-known naturalist Thomas Huxley that was "more materialistic" than usual, and

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.—Ed.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.—Ed.

³ F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Eng. ed., 1946, pp. 24-26.—Ed.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.—Ed.

to his recognition that "as long as we actually observe and think, we cannot possibly get away from materialism," at the same time reproaches him for leaving a "loophole" for agnosticism, for Humeism. It is especially important to note Marx's view on the relation between freedom and necessity: "Necessity is *blind* only in so far as it is not understood." "Freedom is the appreciation of necessity." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.)¹ This means the recognition of objective law in nature and of the dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom (in the same manner as the transformation of the unknown, but knowable, "thing-in-itself" into the "thing-for-us," of the "essence of things" into "phenomena"). Marx and Engels considered the fundamental limitations of the "old" materialism, including the materialism of Feuerbach (and still more of the "vulgar" materialism of Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott), to be: (1) that this materialism was "predominantly mechanical," failing to take account of the latest developments of chemistry and biology (in our day it would be necessary to add: and of the electrical theory of matter); (2) that the old materialism was non-historical, non-dialectical (metaphysical, in the sense of anti-dialectical), and did not adhere consistently and comprehensively to the standpoint of development; (3) that it regarded the "human essence" abstractly and not as the "ensemble" of (concretely defined historical) "social relations," and therefore only "interpreted" the world, whereas the point is to "change" it; that is to say, it did not understand the importance of "revolutionary practical activity."

DIALECTICS

Hegelian dialectics, as the most comprehensive, the most rich in content, and the most profound doctrine of development, was regarded by Marx and Engels as the greatest achievement of classical German philosophy. They considered every other formulation of the principle of development, of evolution, one-sided and poor in content, and distorting and mutilating the real course of development (often proceeding by

¹ *Op cit*, p. 130.—Ed

leaps, catastrophes and revolutions) in nature and in society. "Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics [from the destruction of idealism, including Hegelianism] and apply it in the materialist conception of nature....¹ Nature is the test of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich [this was written before the discovery of radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements, etc.] and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical."²

"The great basic thought," Engels writes, "that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made *things*, but as a complex of *processes*, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind-images in our heads, the concepts, go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away...—this great fundamental thought has, especially since the time of Hegel, so thoroughly permeated ordinary consciousness that in this generality it is now scarcely ever contradicted. But to acknowledge this fundamental thought in words and to apply it in reality in detail to each domain of investigation are two different things."³ "For it [dialectical philosophy] nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher. And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process in the thinking brain."⁴ Thus, according to Marx, dialectics is "the science of the general laws of motion—both of the external world and of human thought...."⁵

This, the revolutionary, side of Hegel's philosophy was adopted and developed by Marx. Dialectical materialism "no longer needs any philosophy standing above the other sci-

¹ *Anti-Dühring*, p. 15 -- Ed.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29 -- Ed.

³ F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Eng. ed., 1946, p. 52. -- Ed.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15. -- Ed.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51. -- Ed.

ences."¹ Of former philosophy there remains "the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics"² And dialectics, as understood by Marx, and in conformity with Hegel, includes what is now called the theory of knowledge, or epistemology, which, too, must regard its subject matter historically, studying and generalizing the origin and development of knowledge, the transition from *non-knowledge* to knowledge. ~

Nowadays, the idea of development, of evolution, has penetrated the social consciousness almost in its entirety, but by different ways, not by way of the Hegelian philosophy. But as formulated by Marx and Engels on the basis of Hegel, this idea is far more comprehensive far richer in content than the current idea of evolution. A development that seemingly repeats the stages already passed, but repeats them otherwise, on a higher basis ("negation of negation"), a development, so to speak, in spirals, not in a straight line;—a development by leaps, catastrophes, revolutions;—"breaks in continuity";—the transformation of quantity into quality;—the inner impulses to development, imparted by the contradiction and conflict of the various forces and tendencies acting on a given body, or within a given phenomenon, or within a given society;—the interdependence and the closest, indissoluble connection of *all* sides of every phenomenon (while history constantly discloses ever new sides), a connection that provides a uniform, law-governed, universal process of motion—such are some of the features of dialectics as a richer (than the ordinary) doctrine of development. (See Marx's letter to Engels of January 8, 1868, in which he ridicules Stein's "wooden trichotomies," which it would be absurd to confuse with materialist dialectics.)

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Having realized the inconsistency, incompleteness, and one-sidedness of the old materialism, Marx became convinced of the necessity of "bringing the science of society . . . into har-

¹ *Anti-Dühring* § 32—Ed.

² *Ibid.*—Ed.

mony with the materialist foundation, and of reconstructing it thereupon.”¹ Since materialism in general explains consciousness as the outcome of being, and not conversely, materialism as applied to the social life of mankind has to explain *social* consciousness as the outcome of *social* being. “Technology,” writes Marx (*Capital*, Vol I), “discloses man’s mode of dealing with nature, the process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them.”² In the preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as extended to human society and its history, in the following words:

“In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of

¹ F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Eng. ed., 1946 p. 34.—Ed.

² *Capital*, Vol. I, Allen & Unwin Ltd London, 1938, p. 367 Ed.

production. . . . In broad outlines we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois modes of production as so many progressive epochs in the economic formation of society."¹ (See Marx's brief formulation in a letter to Engels dated July 7, 1866: "Our theory that the organization of labour is determined by the means of production.")

The discovery of the materialist conception of history, or rather, the consistent continuation, extension of materialism to the domain of social phenomena, removed two of the chief defects of earlier historical theories. In the first place, they at best examined only the ideological motives of the historical activity of human beings, without investigating what produced these motives, without grasping the objective laws governing the development of the system of social relations, and without discerning the roots of these relations in the degree of development of material production; in the second place it was precisely the activities of the *masses* of the population that the earlier theories did not cover, whereas historical materialism made it possible for the first time to study with the accuracy of the natural sciences the social conditions of the life of the masses and the changes in these conditions. Pre-Marxian "sociology" and historiography *at best* provided an accumulation of raw facts, collected at random, and a depiction of certain sides of the historical process. By examining the *ensemble* of all the opposing tendencies, by reducing them to precisely definable conditions of life and production of the various *classes* of society, by discarding subjectivism and arbitrariness in the choice of various "leading" ideas or in their interpretation, and by disclosing that all ideas and all the various tendencies, without exception, have their *roots* in the condition of the material forces of production, Marxism pointed the way to an all-embracing and comprehensive study of the process of the genesis, development, and decline of social-economic formations. People make their own history. But what determines the motives of people, of the mass of people, that is; what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and strivings; what is the ensemble of all these clashes of the whole mass of human societies; what are the objective conditions of production of

¹ Karl Marx *Selected Works*, Vol. I. Eng. ed., 1946, pp. 300-01 —Ed.

material life that form the basis of all historical activity of man; what is the law of development of these conditions—to all this Marx drew attention and pointed out the way to a scientific study of history as a uniform and law-governed process in all its immense variety and contradictoriness.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

That in any given society the strivings of some of its members conflict with the strivings of others, that social life is full of contradictions, that history discloses a struggle within nations and societies as well as between nations and societies, and, in addition, an alternation of periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline—are facts that are generally known. Marxism provided the clue which enables us to discover the laws governing this seeming labyrinth and chaos, namely, the theory of the class struggle. Only a study of the ensemble of strivings of all the members of a given society or group of societies can lead to a scientific definition of the result of these strivings. And the source of the conflict of strivings lies in the differences in the position and mode of life of the *classes* into which each society is divided. “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles,” wrote Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* (except the history of the primitive community—Engels added). “Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . . The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two

great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat.” Ever since the Great French Revolution, European history has very clearly revealed in a number of countries this real undersurface of events, the struggle of classes. And the Restoration period in France already produced a number of historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers) who, generalizing from events, could not but recognize that the class struggle was the key to all French history. And the modern era—the era of the complete victory of the bourgeoisie, representative institutions, wide (if not universal) suffrage, a cheap, popular daily press, etc., the era of powerful and ever-expanding unions of workers and unions of employers, etc.—has revealed even more manifestly (though sometimes in a very one-sided, “peaceful,” “constitutional” form) that the class struggle is the mainspring of events. The following passage from Marx’s *Communist Manifesto* will show us what Marx required of social science in respect to an objective analysis of the position of each class in modern society in connection with an analysis of the conditions of development of each class: “Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry: the proletariat is its special and essential product. The lower middle class: the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant—all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.” In a number of historic works (see *Bibliography*), Marx has given us brilliant and profound examples of materialist historiography, of an analysis of the position of *each* individual class, and sometimes of various groups or strata within a class, showing plainly why and how “every class struggle is a political struggle.” The above-

quoted passage is an illustration of what a complex network of social relations and *transitional* stages between one class and another, from the past to the future, Marx analyses in order to determine the resultant of historical development.

The most profound, comprehensive and detailed confirmation and application of Marx's theory is his economic doctrine.

MARX'S ECONOMIC DOCTRINE

"It is the ultimate aim of this work to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society" (that is to say, capitalist, bourgeois society), says Marx in the preface to *Capital*. The investigation of the relations of production in a given, historically defined society, in their genesis, development, and decline—such is the content of Marx's economic doctrine. In capitalist society it is the production of *commodities* that dominates, and Marx's analysis therefore begins with an analysis of the commodity.

VALUE

A commodity is, in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing. The utility of a thing makes it a *use-value*. Exchange-value (or simply, value) presents itself first of all as a relation, as the proportion in which a certain number of use-values of one sort are exchanged for a certain number of use-values of another sort. Daily experience shows us that millions upon millions of such exchanges are constantly equating one with another every kind of use-value, even the most diverse and incomparable. Now, what is there in common between these various things, things constantly equated one with another in a definite system of social relations? What is common to them is that they are *products of labour*. In exchanging products people equate to one another the most diverse kinds of labour. The production of commodities is a system of social relations in which the single producers create diverse products (the social division of labour), and in which

all these products are equated to one another in exchange. Consequently, what is common to all commodities is not the concrete labour of a definite branch of production, not labour of one particular kind, but *abstract* human labour—human labour in general. All the labour power of a given society, as represented in the sum total of values of all commodities, is one and the same human labour power; millions and millions of acts of exchange prove this. And, consequently, each particular commodity represents only a certain share of the *socially necessary* labour time. The magnitude of value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour, or by the labour time that is socially necessary for the production of the given commodity, of the given use-value. "... Whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labour, the different kinds of labour expended upon them. We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it."¹ As one of the earlier economists said, value is a relation between two persons, only he ought to have added: a relation screened by a material integument. We can understand what value is only when we consider it from the standpoint of the system of social relations of production of one particular historical formation of society, relations, moreover, which manifest themselves in the mass phenomenon of exchange, a phenomenon which repeats itself millions upon millions of times "As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labour time."² Having made a detailed analysis of the twofold character of the labour incorporated in commodities, Marx goes on to analyse the *forms of value* and *money*. Marx's main task here is to study the *origin* of the money form of value, to study the *historical process* of development of exchange, from isolated and casual acts of exchange ("elementary or accidental form of value," in which a given quantity of one commodity is exchanged for a given quantity of another) to the universal form of value, in which a number of different commodities are exchanged for one and the same particular commodity, and to the money form of value, when gold becomes this particular commodity, the

¹ *Capital*, Vol I, p 45—Ed

² *Ibid.*, p 6—Ed

universal equivalent. Being the highest product of the development of exchange and commodity production, money masks and conceals the social character of private labour, the social tie between the individual producers who are united by the market. Marx analyses in great detail the various functions of money; and it is essential to note here in particular (as generally in the opening chapters of *Capital*) that the abstract and seemingly at times purely deductive mode of exposition in reality reproduces a gigantic collection of factual material on the history of the development of exchange and commodity production. "... If we consider money, its existence implies a definite stage in the exchange of commodities. The particular functions of money which it performs, either as the mere equivalent of commodities, or as means of circulation, or means of payment, as hoard or as universal money, point, according to the extent and relative preponderance of the one function or the other, to very different stages in the process of social production." (*Capital*, Vol. I.)¹

SURPLUS VALU

At a certain stage in the development of commodity production money becomes transformed into capital. The formula of commodity circulation was C—M—C (commodity—money—commodity), i.e., the sale of one commodity for the purpose of buying another. The general formula of capital, on the contrary, is M—C—M (money—commodity—money), i.e., purchase for the purpose of selling (at a profit). The increase over the original value of money put into circulation Marx calls surplus value. The fact of this "growth" of money in capitalist circulation is well known. It is this "growth" which transforms money into *capital*, as a special, historically defined, social relation of production. Surplus value cannot arise out of commodity circulation, for the latter knows only the exchange of equivalents; it cannot arise out of an addition to price, for the mutual losses and gains of buyers and sellers would equalize

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148. Ed

one another, whereas what we have here is not an individual phenomenon but a mass, average, social phenomenon. In order to derive surplus value, the owner of money "must... find... in the market a commodity whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value"¹—a commodity whose process of consumption is at the same time a process of creation of value. And such a commodity exists. It is human labour power. Its consumption is labour, and labour creates value. The owner of money buys labour power at its value, which, like the value of every other commodity, is determined by the socially necessary labour time requisite for its production (*i.e.*, the cost of maintaining the worker and his family). Having bought labour power, the owner of money is entitled to use it, that is, to set it to work, for the whole day—twelve hours, let us suppose. Yet, in the course of six hours ("necessary" labour time) the labourer produces product sufficient to cover the cost of his own maintenance; and in the course of the next six hours ("surplus" labour time), he produces "surplus" product, or surplus value, for which the capitalist does not pay. In capital, therefore, from the standpoint of the process of production, two parts must be distinguished: constant capital, expended on means of production (machinery, tools, raw materials, etc.), the value of which, without any change, is transferred (all at once or part by part) to the finished product; and variable capital, expended on labour power. The value of this latter capital is not invariable, but grows in the labour process, creating surplus value. Therefore, to express the degree of exploitation of labour power by capital, surplus value must be compared not with the whole capital but only with the variable capital. Thus in the example given, the rate of surplus value, as Marx calls this ratio, will be 6:6, *i.e.*, 100 per cent.

The historical conditions necessary for the genesis of capital were, firstly, the accumulation of a certain sum of money in the hands of individuals and a relatively high level of development of commodity production in general, and secondly, the existence of a labourer who is "free" in a double sense: free from all constraint or restriction on the sale of his labour power,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.—Ed

and free from the land and all means of production in general, a free and unattached labourer, a "proletarian," who cannot subsist except by the sale of his labour power.

There are two principal methods by which surplus value can be increased: by lengthening the working day ("absolute surplus value"), and by shortening the necessary working day ("relative surplus value"). Analysing the first method, Marx gives a most impressive picture of the struggle of the working class to shorten the working day and of governmental interference to lengthen the working day (from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century) and to shorten the working day (factory legislation of the nineteenth century). Since the appearance of *Capital*, the history of the working-class movement in all civilized countries of the world has provided a wealth of new facts amplifying this picture.

Analysing the production of relative surplus value, Marx investigates the three main historical stages by which capitalism has increased the productivity of labour: (1) simple co-operation; (2) division of labour and manufacture; (3) machinery and large-scale industry. How profoundly Marx has here revealed the basic and typical features of capitalist development is incidentally shown by the fact that investigations of what is known as the "kustar" [home] industry of Russia furnish abundant material illustrating the first two of the mentioned stages. And the revolutionizing effect of large-scale machine industry, described by Marx in 1867, has been revealed in a number of "new" countries (Russia, Japan, etc.) in the course of the half-century that has since elapsed.

To continue. New and important in the highest degree is Marx's analysis of the *accumulation of capital*, i.e., the transformation of a part of surplus value into capital, its use, not for satisfying the personal needs or whims of the capitalist, but for new production. Marx revealed the mistake of all the earlier, classical political economists (from Adam Smith on), who assumed that the entire surplus value which is transformed into capital goes to form variable capital. In actual fact, it is divided into *means of production* and variable capital. Of tremendous importance to the process of development of capitalism and its transformation into Socialism is the more rapid

growth of the constant capital share (of the total capital) as compared with the variable capital share.

The accumulation of capital, by accelerating the replacement of workers by machinery and creating wealth at one pole and poverty at the other, also gives rise to what is called the "reserve army of labour," to the "relative surplus" of workers, or "capitalist overpopulation," which assumes the most diverse forms and enables capital to expand production at an extremely fast rate. This, in conjunction with credit facilities and the accumulation of capital in the means of production, incidentally furnishes the clue to the *crises* of overproduction that occur periodically in capitalist countries—at first at an average of every ten years, and later at more lengthy and less definite intervals. From the accumulation of capital under capitalism must be distinguished what is known as primitive accumulation: the forcible divorcement of the worker from the means of production, the driving of the peasants from the land, the stealing of the commons, the system of colonies and national debts, protective tariffs, and the like. "Primitive accumulation" creates the "free" proletariat at one pole, and the owner of money, the capitalist, at the other.

The "*historical tendency of capitalist accumulation*" is described by Marx in the following famous words: "The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless Vandalism and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the peltiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property [of the peasant and handicraftsman], that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent labouring-individual with the conditions of his labour, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others. . . . That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour process, the conscious

technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and, with this, the international character of the capitalistic *régime*. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." (*Capital*, Vol. I.)¹

New and important in the highest degree, further, is the analysis Marx gives in the second volume of *Capital* of the reproduction of the aggregate social capital. Here, too, Marx deals not with an individual phenomenon but with a mass phenomenon; not with a fractional part of the economy of society but with this economy as a whole. Correcting the mistake of the classical economists mentioned above, Marx divides the entire social production into two big sections: (I) production of means of production, and (II) production of articles of consumption, and examines in detail, with arithmetical examples, the circulation of the aggregate social capital—both in the case of reproduction in its former dimensions and in the case of accumulation. The third volume of *Capital* solves the problem of the formation of the average rate of profit on the basis of the law of value. The immense advance in economic science made by Marx consists in the fact that he conducts his

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 788-89.—Ed.

analysis from the standpoint of mass economic phenomena, of the social economy as a whole, and not from the standpoint of individual cases or of the external, superficial aspects of competition, to which vulgar political economy and the modern "theory of marginal utility" are frequently limited. Marx first analyses the origin of surplus value, and then goes on to consider its division into profit, interest, and ground rent. Profit is the ratio between the surplus value and the total capital invested in an undertaking. Capital with a "high organic composition" (i.e., with a preponderance of constant capital over variable capital exceeding the social average) yields a lower than average rate of profit; capital with a "low organic composition" yields a higher than average rate of profit. The competition of capitals and the freedom with which they transfer from one branch of production to another reduce the rate of profit to the average in both cases. The sum total of the values of all the commodities of a given society coincides with the sum total of prices of the commodities; but, owing to competition, in individual undertakings and branches of production commodities are sold not at their values but at the *prices of production* (or production prices), which are equal to the expended capital plus the average profit.

In this way the well-known and indisputable fact of the divergence between prices and values and of the equalization of profits is fully explained by Marx on the basis of the law of value; for the sum total of values of all commodities coincides with the sum total of prices. However, the reduction of (social) value to (individual) prices does not take place simply and directly, but in a very complex way. It is quite natural that in a society of separate producers of commodities, who are united only by the market, law can reveal itself only as an average, social, mass law, when individual deviations to one side or the other mutually compensate one another.

An increase in the productivity of labour implies a more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital. And since surplus value is a function of variable capital alone, it is obvious that the rate of profit (the ratio of surplus value to the whole capital, and not to its variable part alone) tends to fall. Marx makes a detailed analysis of this

tendency and of a number of circumstances that conceal or counteract it. Without pausing to give an account of the extremely interesting sections of the third volume of *Capital* devoted to usurer's capital, commercial capital and money capital, we pass to the most important section, the theory of *ground rent*. Owing to the fact that the land area is limited and, in capitalist countries, is all occupied by individual private owners, the price of production of agricultural products is determined by the cost of production not on average soil, but on the worst soil, not under average conditions, but under the worst conditions of delivery of produce to the market. The difference between this price and the price of production on better soil (or under better conditions) constitutes *differential* rent. Analysing this in detail, and showing how it arises out of the difference in fertility of different plots of land and the difference in the amount of capital invested in land, Marx fully exposed (see also *Theories of Surplus Value*, in which the criticism of Rodbertus deserves particular attention) the error of Ricardo, who considered that differential rent is derived only when there is a successive transition from better land to worse. On the contrary, there may be inverse transitions, land may pass from one category into others (owing to advances in agricultural technique, the growth of towns, and so on), and the notorious "law of diminishing returns" is a profound error which charges nature with the defects, limitations and contradictions of capitalism. Further, the equalization of profit in all branches of industry and national economy in general presupposes complete freedom of competition and the free flow of capital from one branch to another. But the private ownership of land creates monopoly, which hinders this free flow. Owing to this monopoly, the products of agriculture, which is distinguished by a lower organic composition of capital, and, consequently, by an individually higher rate of profit, do not participate in the entirely free process of equalization of the rate of profit: the landowner, being a monopolist, can keep the price above the average, and this monopoly price engenders *absolute rent*. Differential rent cannot be done away with under capitalism, but absolute rent *can*—for instance, by the nationalization of the land, by making it the property of the state. Making the

land the property of the state would put an end to the monopoly of private landowners, and would lead to a more systematic and complete application of freedom of competition in the domain of agriculture. And, therefore, Marx points out, in the course of history bourgeois radicals have again and again advanced this progressive bourgeois demand for the nationalization of the land, which, however, frightens away the majority of the bourgeoisie, because it too closely "touches" another monopoly, which is particularly important and "sensitive" in our day—the monopoly of the means of production in general. (Marx gives a remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of his theory of the average rate of profit on capital and of absolute ground rent in a letter to Engels, dated August 2, 1862. See *Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, pp. 77-81; also the letter of August 9, 1862, Vol. III, pp. 86-87.)¹ For the history of ground rent it is also important to note Marx's analysis showing how labour rent (when the peasant creates surplus product by labouring on the lord's land) is transformed into rent in produce or in kind (when the peasant creates surplus product on his own land and cedes it to the lord due to "non-economic constraint"), then into money rent (which is rent in kind transformed into money, the *obrok*² of old Russia, due to the development of commodity production), and finally into capitalist rent, when the peasant is replaced by agricultural entrepreneur, who cultivates the soil with the help of wage-labour. In connection with this analysis of the "genesis of capitalist ground rent," note should be made of a number of subtle ideas (especially important for backward countries like Russia) expressed by Marx on the *evolution of capitalism in agriculture* "The transformation of rent in kind into money rent is not only necessarily accompanied, but even anticipated by the formation of a class of propertyless day labourers, who hire themselves out for wages. During the period of their rise, when this new class appears but sporadically, the custom necessarily develops among the better situated tributary farmers of exploiting agricultural

¹ The references are to the German edition, Dietzgen, Stuttgart 1913, (4 Vols.). See *Selected Correspondence*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, pp. 129-33, 137-38.—Ed

² Quit-rent.—Ed.

labourers for their own account, just as the wealthier serfs in feudal times used to employ serfs for their own benefit. In this way they gradually acquire the ability to accumulate a certain amount of wealth and to transform themselves even into future capitalists. The old self-employing possessors of the land thus give rise among themselves to a nursery for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned upon the general development of capitalist production outside of the rural districts." (*Capital*, Vol. III.)¹ "The expropriation and eviction of a part of the agricultural population not only set free for industrial capital the labourers, their means of subsistence, and material for labour; it also created the home market"² (*Capital*, Vol. I.) The impoverishment and ruin of the agricultural population lead, in their turn, to the formation of a reserve army of labour for capital. In every capitalist country "part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing proletariat . . . (Manufacture is used here in the sense of all non-agricultural industries) This source or relative surplus population is thus constantly flowing. . . . The agricultural labourer is therefore reduced to the minimum of wages, and always stands with one foot already in the swamp of pauperism" (*Capital*, Vol. I.)³ The private ownership of the peasant in the land he tills constitutes the basis of small-scale production and the condition for its prospering and attaining a classical form. But such small-scale production is compatible only with a narrow and primitive framework of production and society. Under capitalism the "exploitation [of the peasants] differs only in *form* from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: *capital*. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through *mortgages* and *usury*; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through the state taxes" (*The Class Struggles in France 1848-50*)⁴ "The small holding of the peasant is now only the pretext that allows the capitalist to draw profits, interest and

¹ *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 928.—Ed.

² *Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 771-72.—Ed.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 657-58.—Ed.

⁴ See Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Eng. ed., Moscow 1936, p. 282.—Ed.

rent from the soil, while leaving it to the tiller of the soil himself to see how he can extract his wages."¹ As a rule the peasant cedes to capitalist society, *i.e.*, to the capitalist class, even a part of the wages, sinking "to the level of the *Irish tenant farmer*—all under the pretence of being a *private proprietor*." (*The Class Struggles in France 1848-50.*)² What is "one of the causes which keeps the price of cereals lower in countries with a predominance of small farmers than in countries with a capitalist mode of production"? (*Capital*, Vol. III)³ It is that the peasant cedes to society (*i.e.*, to the capitalist class) part of his surplus product without an equivalent. "This lower price [of cereals and other agricultural produce] is also a result of the poverty of the producers and by no means of the productivity of their labour." (*Capital*, Vol. III)⁴ The small-holding system, which is the normal form of small-scale production, deteriorates, collapses, perishes under capitalism. "Small peasants' property excludes by its very nature the development of the social powers of production of labour, the social forms of labour, the social concentration of capitals, cattle raising on a large scale, and a progressive application of science. Usury and a system of taxation must impoverish it everywhere. The expenditure of capital in the price of the land withdraws this capital from cultivation. An infinite dissipation of means of production and an isolation of the producers themselves go with it. [Co operative societies, *i.e.*, associations of small peasants, while playing an extremely progressive bourgeois role, only weaken this tendency without eliminating it; nor must it be forgotten that these co-operative societies do much for the well-to-do peasants, and very little, almost nothing, for the mass of poor peasants; and then the associations themselves become exploiters of wage-labour.] Also an enormous waste of human energy. A progressive deterioration of the conditions of production and a raising of the price of means of production is a necessary law of small peasants' property."⁵ In agriculture

¹ See Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, in *Selected Works*, *ibid.*, pp. 418-19.—Ed.

² See Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, *ibid.*, p. 282.—Ed.

³ *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 937.—Ed.

⁴ *Ibid.*—Ed.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 938-39.—Ed.

as in industry, capitalism transforms the process of production only at the price of the "martyrdom of the producers." "The dispersion of the rural labourers over larger areas breaks their power of resistance while concentration increases that of the town operatives. In modern agriculture, as in the urban industries, the increased productiveness and quantity of the labour set in motion are bought at the cost of laying waste and consuming by disease labour power itself. Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil. . . . Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth — the soil and the labourer." (*Capital*, Vol. I.)¹

SOCIALISM

From the foregoing it is evident that Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of motion of contemporary society. The socialization of labour, which is advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms, and which has manifested itself very strikingly during the half-century that has elapsed since the death of Marx in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, forms the chief material foundation for the inevitable coming of Socialism. The intellectual and moral driving force and the physical exculant of this transformation is the proletariat, which is trained by capitalism itself. The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, which manifests itself in various and, as to its content, increasingly richer forms, inevitably becomes a political struggle aiming at the conquest of political power by the proletariat ("the dictatorship of the proletariat"). The socialization of production is bound to lead to the conversion of the means of production into the property of society, to the "expropriation of the expro-

¹ *Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 514-15.—Ed.

priators." This conversion will directly result in an immense increase in productivity of labour, a reduction of working hours, and the replacement of the remnants, the ruins of small-scale, primitive, disunited production by collective and improved labour. Capitalism finally snaps the bond between agriculture and industry; but at the same time, in its highest development it prepares new elements of this bond, of a union between industry and agriculture based on the conscious application of science and the combination of collective labour, and on a redistribution of the human population (putting an end at one and the same time to the rural remoteness, isolation and barbarism, and to the unnatural concentration of vast masses of people in big cities) A new form of family, new conditions in the status of women and in the upbringing of the younger generation are being prepared by the highest forms of modern capitalism: female and child labour and the break-up of the patriarchal family by capitalism inevitably assume the most terrible, disastrous, and repulsive forms in modern society Nevertheless "... modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economical foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historic development. Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions become a source of humane development: although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the labourer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the labourer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery." (*Capital*, Vol. I)¹ In the factory system is to be found "the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 496 —Ed

productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings." (*Ibid.*)¹ Marxian Socialism puts the question of nationality and of the state on the same historical footing, not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a fearless forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement. Nations are an inevitable product, an inevitable form in the bourgeois epoch of social development. The working class could not grow strong, could not become mature and formed without "constituting itself within the nation," without being "national" ("though not in the bourgeois sense of the word") But the development of capitalism more and more breaks down national barriers, destroys national seclusion, substitutes class antagonisms for national antagonisms. It is, therefore, perfectly true that in the developed capitalist countries "the workingmen have no country" and that "united action" of the workers, of the civilized countries at least, "is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat" (*Communist Manifesto*). The state, which is organized violence, inevitably came into being at a definite stage in the development of society, when society had split into irreconcilable classes, and when it could not exist without an "authority" ostensibly standing above society and to a certain degree separate from society. Arising out of class contradictions, the state becomes "the state of the most powerful class, the class which rules in economics and with its aid becomes also the class which rules in politics, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus, the state of antiquity was primarily the state of the slaveowners for the purpose of holding down the slaves, as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is a tool for the exploitation of wage-labour by capital." (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, a work in which the writer expounds his own and Marx's views.)² Even the freest and most progressive form of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 489 — Ed

² *Op. cit.*, Moscow 1940, p. 141. Ed

bourgeois state, the democratic republic, in no way removes this fact, but merely changes its form (connection between the government and the stock exchange, corruption—direct and indirect—of the officialdom and the press, etc.). Socialism, by leading to the abolition of classes, will thereby lead to the abolition of the state. "The first act," writes Engels in *Anti-Dühring*, "in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the process of production. The state is not 'abolished,' it *withers away*."¹ "The society that will reorganize production on the basis of the free and equal association of the producers will put the machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe." (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.)²

Finally, as regards the attitude of Marxian Socialism towards the small peasantry, which will continue to exist in the period of the expropriation of the expropriators, we must refer to a declaration made by Engels which expresses Marx's views. "When we are in possession of the state power, we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in relation to the large landowners. Our task as regards the small peasants will first of all be to lead their private enterprises and private property into co-operative lines, not forcibly, but by example and by granting public aid for this purpose. And then, of course, we shall have ample means of showing the small peasant advantages which even now should become obvious to him." (Engels, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany." Original in the *Neue Zeit*.)

¹ *Anti-Dühring*, p. 315.—Ed.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 143.—Ed.

TACTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

Having as early as 1844-45¹ examined one of the chief defects of the earlier materialism, namely, its inability to understand the conditions and appreciate the importance of practical revolutionary activity, Marx, along with his theoretical work, all his life devoted unrelaxed attention to the tactical problems of the class struggle of the proletariat. An immense amount of material bearing on this is contained in *all* the works of Marx and particularly in the four volumes of his correspondence with Engels published in 1913. This material is still far from having been assembled, collated, studied and examined. We shall therefore have to confine ourselves here to the most general and briefest remarks, emphasizing that Marx justly considered that without *this* side to it materialism was irresolute, one-sided, and lifeless. Marx defined the fundamental task of proletarian tactics in strict conformity with all the postulates of his materialist-dialectical conception. Only an objective consideration of the sum total of reciprocal relations of all the classes of a given society without exception, and, consequently, a consideration of the objective stage of development of that society and of the reciprocal relations between it and other societies, can serve as a basis for the correct tactics of the advanced class. At the same time, all classes and all countries are not regarded statically, but dynamically, *i.e.*, not in a state of immobility, but in motion (the laws of which are determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). Motion, in its turn, is regarded not only from the standpoint of the past, but also from the standpoint of the future, and, at the same time, not in accordance with the vulgar conception of the "evolutionists," who see only slow changes, but dialectically: in historical developments of such magnitude twenty years are no more than a day, Marx wrote to Engels, "although later there may come days in which twenty years are concentrated." (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III.²) At each stage of

¹ Lenin is referring to Marx's and Engels' *The Holy Family* and *German Ideology* and to Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach* - Ed.

² The references are to the German edition of 1913. See p. 38, note 1 of this volume.--Ed.

development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of this objectively inevitable dialectics of human history, on the one hand utilizing the periods of political stagnation or of sluggish, so-called "peaceful," development in order to develop the class consciousness, strength and fighting capacity of the advanced class, and, on the other hand, conducting all this work of utilization towards the "final aim" of the movement of the advanced class and towards the creation in it of the faculty for practically performing great tasks in the great days in which "twenty years are concentrated." Two of Marx's arguments are of special importance in this connection: one of these is contained in *The Poverty of Philosophy* and concerns the economic struggle and economic organizations of the proletariat; the other is contained in the *Communist Manifesto* and concerns the political tasks of the proletariat. The first argument runs as follows: "Large-scale industry concentrates in one place a crowd of people unknown to one another. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of wages, this common interest which they have against their boss, unites them in a common thought of resistance—*combination*. . . Combinations, at first isolated, constitute themselves into groups . . . and in face of always united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more necessary to them [*i.e.*, the workers] than that of wages. . . In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all the elements necessary for a coming battle. Once it has reached this point, association takes on a political character."¹ Here we have the program and tactics of the economic struggle and of the trade union movement for several decades to come, for the whole long period in which the proletariat will muster its forces for the "coming battle." Side by side with this must be placed numerous references by Marx and Engels to the example of the British labour movement: how industrial "prosperity" leads to attempts "to buy the workers" (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, p. 136), to divert them from the struggle; how this prosperity generally "demoralizes the workers" (Vol. II, p. 218); how the British proletariat becomes "bourgeoisified"—"this most bourgeois of

¹ Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Eng. ed., 1935, p. 145.—Ed.

all nations" (the British) "seems to want in the end to have a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat side by side with the bourgeoisie" (Vol. II, p. 290); how its "revolutionary energy" "oozes away" (Vol. III, p. 124), how it will be necessary to wait a more or less long time "before the British workers rid themselves of their apparent bourgeois corruption" (Vol. III, p. 127); how the British labour movement lacks "the mettle of the Chartists" (1866; Vol. III, p. 305); how the British workers' leaders are becoming a type midway between "a radical bourgeois and a worker" (in reference to Holyoake, Vol. IV, p. 209); how, owing to British monopoly, and as long as this monopoly lasts, "the British workingman will not budge" (Vol. IV, p. 433). The tactics of the economic struggle, in connection with the general course (*and outcome*) of the labour movement, are here considered from a remarkably broad, comprehensive, dialectical, and genuinely revolutionary standpoint.

The *Communist Manifesto* sets forth the fundamental Marxian principle on the tactics of the political struggle: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." That was why in 1848 Marx supported the party of the "agrarian revolution" in Poland, "the party which initiated the Cracow insurrection in the year 1846." In Germany in 1848 and 1849 Marx supported the extreme revolutionary democracy, and subsequently never retracted what he had then said about tactics. He regarded the German bourgeoisie as an element which "was inclined from the very beginning to betray the people" (only an alliance with the peasantry could have brought the bourgeoisie the integral fulfilment of its aims) "and to compromise with the crowned representatives of the old society." Here is Marx's summary of the analysis of the class position of the German bourgeoisie in the era of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—an analysis which, incidentally, is a sample of that materialism which examines society in motion, and examines it, at the same time, not only from the side of the motion which is directed *backwards*. . . . "Lacking faith in itself, lacking faith in the people, grumbling at those above, trembling before those below . . . in-

timidated by the world storm . . . nowhere with energy, everywhere with plagiarism . . . without initiative . . . an execrable old man, doomed to guide the first youthful impulses of a robust people in his own senile interests. . . ." (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1848; see *Literarischer Nachlaß*, Vol. III, p. 212.) About twenty years later, in a letter to Engels (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, p. 224), Marx declared that the cause of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 was that the bourgeoisie had preferred peace with slavery to the mere prospect of a fight for freedom. When the revolutionary era of 1848-49 ended, Marx opposed every attempt to play at revolution (the fight he put up against Schapper and Willich), and insisted on the ability to work in the new phase which in a seemingly "peaceful" way was preparing for new revolutions. The spirit in which Marx wanted the work to be carried on is shown by his estimate of the situation in Germany in 1856, the blackest period of reaction: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility to back the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War." (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, p. 108.) As long as the democratic (bourgeois) revolution in Germany was not finished, Marx wholly concentrated attention in the tactics of the Socialist proletariat on developing the democratic energy of the peasantry. He held that Lassalle's attitude was "objectively . . . a betrayal of the whole workers' movement to Prussia" (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, p. 210), because Lassalle, among other things, connived at the actions of the Junkers and Prussian nationalism. "In a predominantly agricultural country," wrote Engels in 1865, exchanging ideas with Marx on the subject of an intended joint statement by them in the press, . . . "it is dastardly . . . in the name of the industrial proletariat to attack the bourgeoisie exclusively, and never to say a word about the patriarchal cudgel exploitation of the rural proletariat by the big feudal nobles." (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, p. 217.) From 1864 to 1870, when the era of the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany, the era of the efforts of the exploiting classes of Prussia and Austria to complete this revolution in one way or another *from above*, was coming to an end, Marx not only condemned Lassalle, who was coquetting with Bismarck, but also corrected Liebknecht, who had inclined towards

"Austrophilism" and the defence of particularism Marx demanded revolutionary tactics which would combat both Bismarck and the Austrophiles with equal ruthlessness, tactics which would not be adapted to the "victor," the Prussian Junker, but which would immediately renew the revolutionary struggle against him *also on the basis* created by the Prussian military victories. (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, pp. 134, 136, 147, 179, 204, 210, 215, 418, 437, 440-41.) In the famous Address of the International Workingmen's Association of September 8, 1870, Marx warned the French proletariat against an untimely uprising; but when the uprising nevertheless took place (1871), Marx enthusiastically hailed the revolutionary initiative of the masses, who were "storming heaven" (letter of Marx to Kugelmann).¹ The defeat of the revolutionary action in this situation, as in many others, was, from the standpoint of Marxian dialectical materialism, a lesser evil in the general course *and outcome* of the proletarian struggle than the abandonment of a position already occupied, than a surrender without battle. Such a surrender would have demoralized the proletariat and undermined its fighting capacity. Fully appreciating the use of legal means of struggle during periods when political stagnation prevails and bourgeois legality dominates, Marx, in 1877 and 1878, after the passage of the Anti-Socialist Law,² sharply condemned Most's "revolutionary phrases"; but he no less, if not more sharply, attacked the opportunism that had temporarily gained sway in the official Social-Democratic Party, which did not at once display resoluteness, firmness, revolutionary spirit and a readiness to resort to an illegal struggle in response to the Anti-Socialist Law. (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. IV pp. 397, 404, 418, 422, 424; see also letters to Sorge.)

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¹ Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann* Eng. ed 1931 p 123 -Ed

² *Anti-Socialist Law*—an exceptional law against Socialists introduced by Bismarck in 1878 the express purpose of which was to suppress the Social Democratic movement in Germany. The law was repealed in 1890.—Ed

FREDERICK ENGELS

*Oh, what a lamp of reason ceased to burn.
Oh, what a heart then ceased to throb!*

On August 5, 1895, Frederick Engels died in London. After his friend Karl Marx (who died in 1883), Engels was the most noteworthy man of learning and teacher of the modern proletariat all over the civilized world. From the time that fate threw Karl Marx and Frederick Engels together, the lifework of each of the two friends became the common cause of both. And so, to understand what Frederick Engels has done for the proletariat, one must have a clear idea of the significance of Marx's work and teaching for the development of the contemporary labour movement. Marx and Engels were the first to show that the working class and the demands of the working class are a necessary outcome of the present economic system, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organizes the proletariat. They showed that it is not the well-meaning efforts of noble-minded individuals, but the class struggle of the organized proletariat that will deliver humanity from the evils which now oppress it. In their scientific works, Marx and Engels were the first to explain that Socialism is not the invention of dreamers, but the final aim and inevitable result of the development of the productive forces of modern society. All recorded history hitherto has been a history of class struggle, of the succession of rulership and victory of certain social classes over others. And this will continue until the foundations of class struggle and class rule—private property and anarchic social production—disappear. The interests of the proletariat demand the destruction of these foundations, and therefore the conscious class struggle of the organized workers

must be directed against them. And every class struggle is a political struggle.

These views of Marx and Engels have now been adopted by all proletarians who are fighting for their emancipation. But when in the 'forties the two friends took part in the Socialist literature and social movements of their time, such opinions were absolutely new. At that time there were many people, talented and untalented, honest and dishonest, who while absorbed in the struggle for political freedom, in the struggle against the despotism of emperors, police and priests, failed to observe the antagonism between the interests of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the proletariat. These people would not even admit the idea that the workers should act as an independent social force. On the other hand, there were many dreamers, some of them geniuses, who thought that it was only necessary to convince the rulers and the governing classes of the injustice of the modern social order, and it would then be easy to establish peace and general well-being on earth. They dreamt of Socialism without a struggle. Lastly, nearly all the Socialists of that time, and the friends of the working class in general, regarded the proletariat only as an *ulcer*, and observed with horror how this ulcer grew with the growth of industry. They all, therefore, were intent on how to stop the development of industry and of the proletariat, how to stop the "wheel of history." Far from sharing the general fear of the development of the proletariat, Marx and Engels placed all their hopes on the continued growth of the proletariat. The greater the number of proletarians, the greater would be their power as a revolutionary class, and the nearer and more possible would Socialism become. The services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed in a few words thus: they taught the working class to know itself and be conscious of itself, and they substituted science for dreams.

That is why the name and life of Engels should be known to every worker. That is why in this magazine the aim of which, as of all our publications, is to awaken class consciousness in the Russian workers, we must sketch the life and work of Frederick Engels, one of the two great teachers of the modern proletariat.

Engels was born in 1820 in Barmen, in the Rhine province of the kingdom of Prussia. His father was a manufacturer. In 1838, Engels, without having completed his studies at the *gymnasium*, was forced by family circumstances to enter one of the commercial houses of Bremen as a clerk. Commercial affairs did not prevent Engels from pursuing his scientific and political education. He came to hate autocracy and the arbitrariness of bureaucrats while still at the *gymnasium*. The study of philosophy led him further. At that time Hegel's teaching dominated German philosophy, and Engels became his follower. Although Hegel himself was an admirer of the autocratic Prussian state, in whose service he stood as a professor in the University of Berlin, Hegel's *teaching* was revolutionary. Hegel's faith in human reason and its rights, and the fundamental thesis of the Hegelian philosophy, namely, that the universe is subject to a constant process of change and development, was leading those of the disciples of the Berlin philosopher who refused to reconcile themselves to the existing state of affairs to the idea that the struggle against this state of affairs, the struggle against existing wrong and prevalent evil, is also rooted in the universal law of eternal development. If all things develop, if institutions keep giving place to other institutions, why should the autocracy of the Prussian king or of the Russian Tsar, why should the enrichment of an insignificant minority at the expense of the vast majority, or the domination of the bourgeoisie over the people, continue forever? Hegel's philosophy spoke of the development of the mind and of ideas; it was *idealistic*. From the development of the mind it deduced the development of nature, of man, and of human, social relations. Retaining Hegel's idea of the eternal process of development¹ Marx and Engels rejected the preconceived idealist view; turning to the facts of life, they saw that it was not the development of mind that explained the development of nature but that, on the contrary, the explanation of mind must be derived from nature, from matter.... Unlike Hegel and the other

¹ Marx and Engels frequently pointed out that in their intellectual development they were very much indebted to the great German philosophers, particularly to Hegel. "Without German philosophy," Engels says, "there would have been no scientific Socialism."

Hegelians, Marx and Engels were materialists. Regarding the world and humanity materialistically, they perceived that just as material causes lie at the basis of all the phenomena of nature, so the development of human society is conditioned by the development of material, productive forces. On the development of productive forces depend the relations which men enter into one with another in the production of the things required for the satisfaction of human needs. And in these relations lies the explanation of all the phenomena of social life, human aspirations, ideas and laws. The development of productive forces creates social relations based upon private property, but now we see that this same development of the productive forces deprives the majority of their property and concentrates it in the hands of an insignificant minority. It destroys property, the basis of the modern social order, it itself strives towards the very aim which the Socialists have set themselves. All the Socialists have to do is to realize which of the social forces, owing to its position in modern society, is interested in bringing about Socialism, and to impart to this force the consciousness of its interests and of its historical task. This force is the proletariat. Engels got to know it in England, in the centre of British industry, Manchester, where he settled in 1842, entering the service of a commercial house of which his father was a shareholder. Here Engels did not merely sit in the factory office but wandered about the slums in which the workers were cooped up. He saw their poverty and misery with his own eyes. But he did not confine himself to personal observations. He read all that had been revealed before him on the condition of the British working class and carefully studied all the official documents he could lay his hands on. The fruit of these studies and observations was the book which appeared in 1845: *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. We have already mentioned the chief service rendered by Engels as the author of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Many even before Engels had described the sufferings of the proletariat and had pointed to the necessity of helping it. Engels was the *first* to say that *not only* was the proletariat a suffering class, but that, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat was driving it irresistibly forward and compelling

it to fight for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *would help itself*. The political movement of the working class would inevitably lead the workers to realize that their only salvation lay in Socialism. On the other hand, Socialism would become a force only when it became the aim of the *political* struggle of the working class. Such are the main ideas of Engels' book on the condition of the working class in England, ideas which have now been adopted by all thinking and fighting proletarians, but which at that time were entirely new. These ideas were enunciated in a book which is written in an absorbing style and which is filled with most authentic and most shocking pictures of the misery of the British proletariat. This book was a terrible indictment of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. It created a very profound impression. Engels' book began to be quoted everywhere as presenting the best picture of the condition of the modern proletariat. And, in fact, neither before 1845 nor after has there appeared so striking and truthful a picture of the misery of the working class.

It was not until he came to England that Engels became a Socialist. In Manchester he formed contacts with people active in the British labour movement at the time and began to write for English Socialist publications. In 1844, while on his way back to Germany, he became acquainted in Paris with Marx, with whom he had already started a correspondence. Under the influence of the French Socialists and French life, Marx also became a Socialist in Paris. Here the friends jointly wrote a book entitled *The Holy Family, or a Criticism of Critical Criticism*. This book, which appeared a year before *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and the greater part of which was written by Marx, contains the foundations of revolutionary materialist Socialism, the main ideas of which we have expounded above. *The Holy Family* is a facetious nickname for the Bauer brothers, philosophers, and their followers. These gentlemen preached a criticism which stood above all reality, which stood above parties and politics, which rejected all practical activity, and which only "critically" contemplated the surrounding world and the events going on within it. These gentlemen, the Bauers, superciliously regarded the proletariat as an uncritical mass. Marx and Engels vigor-

ously opposed this absurd and harmful trend. On behalf of a real human personality—the worker, trampled down by the ruling classes and the state—they demanded, not contemplation, but a struggle for a better order of society. They, of course, regarded the proletariat as the power that was capable of waging this struggle and that was interested in it. Even before the appearance of *The Holy Family*, Engels had published in Marx's and Ruge's *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* the "Critical Essays in Political Economy," in which he examined the principal phenomena of the modern economic order from a Socialist standpoint and concluded that they were necessary consequences of the rule of private property. Inter-course with Engels was undoubtedly a factor in Marx's decision to study political economy, a science in which his works have produced a veritable revolution.

From 1845 to 1847 Engels lived in Brussels and Paris, combining scientific pursuits with practical activities among the German workers in Brussels and Paris. Here Marx and Engels formed contact with the secret German Communist League, which commissioned them to expound the main principles of the Socialism they had worked out. Thus arose the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* of Marx and Engels, published in 1848. This little booklet is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and motivates the organized and fighting proletariat of the entire civilized world.

The revolution of 1848, which broke out first in France and then spread to other countries of Western Europe, brought Marx and Engels back to their native country. Here, in Rhenish Prussia, they took charge of the democratic *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published in Cologne. The two friends were the heart and soul of all revolutionary-democratic aspirations in Rhenish Prussia. They defended the interests of the people and of freedom against the reactionary forces to the last ditch. The reactionary forces, as we know, gained the upper hand. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed. Marx, who during his exile had lost his Prussian citizenship, was deported; but Engels took part in the armed popular uprising, fought for liberty in three battles, and after the defeat of the rebels fled to London, via Switzerland.

There Marx also settled Engels soon became a clerk once more, and later a shareholder, in the Manchester commercial house in which he had worked in the 'forties. Until 1870 he lived in Manchester, while Marx lived in London, which, however, did not prevent them maintaining a most lively intellectual intercourse: they corresponded almost daily. In this correspondence the two friends exchanged views and knowledge and continued to collaborate in the working out of scientific Socialism. In 1870 Engels moved to London, and their common intellectual life, full of strenuous labour, continued until 1883, when Marx died. Its fruit was, on Marx's part, *Capital*, the greatest work on political economy of our age, and on Engels' part—a number of works, large and small. Marx worked on the analysis of the complex phenomena of capitalist economy. Engels, in simply written and frequently polemical works, dealt with the more general scientific problems and with diverse phenomena of the past and present in the spirit of the materialist conception of history and Marx's economic theory. Of these works of Engels we will mention: the polemical work against Dühring (in which are analysed highly important problems in the domain of philosophy, natural science and the social sciences).¹ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (translated into Russian, published in St Petersburg, 3rd ed., 1895) *Ludwig Feuerbach* (Russian translation with notes by G. Plekhanov, Geneva, 1892), an article on the foreign policy of the Russian government (translated into Russian in the Geneva *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Nos. 1 and 2), some remarkable articles on the housing question, and, finally, two small but very valuable articles on the economic development of Russia (*Frederick Engels on Russia*, translated into Russian by Vera Zasulich, Geneva, 1894). Marx died before he could complete his vast work on capital. In the rough, however, it was already finished, and after the death of his

¹ This is a wonderfully rich and instructive book. Unfortunately, only a small portion of it, containing an historical outline of the development of Socialism has been translated into Russian (*The Development of Scientific Socialism*, 2nd ed., Geneva, 1892). [For the English translation of this work see *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, 1934.—Ed.]

friend, Engels undertook the onerous labour of preparing and publishing the second and third volumes of *Capital*. He published Volume II in 1885 and Volume III in 1894 (his death prevented the preparation of Volume IV). These two volumes entailed a vast amount of labour. Adler, the Austrian Social-Democrat, rightly remarked that by publishing Volumes II and III of *Capital* Engels erected a majestic monument to the genius who had been his friend, a monument on which, without intending it, he indelibly carved his own name. And, indeed, these two volumes of *Capital* are the work of two men: Marx and Engels. Ancient stories contain many moving instances of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relations to each other surpassed the most moving stories of human friendship among the ancients. Engels always—and, on the whole, justly—placed himself after Marx. "In Marx's lifetime," he wrote to an old friend, "I played second fiddle." His love for the living Marx, and his reverence for the memory of the dead Marx were limitless. In this stern fighter and strict thinker beat a deeply loving heart.

After the movement of 1848-49, Marx and Engels in exile did not occupy themselves with science alone. In 1864 Marx founded the International Workingmen's Association, and led this society for a whole decade. Engels also took an active part in its affairs. The work of the International Association, which, in accordance with Marx's idea, united proletarians of all countries, was of tremendous significance in the development of the labour movement. But even after the International Association came to an end in the 'seventies the unifying role of Marx and Engels did not cease. On the contrary, it may be said that their importance as spiritual leaders of the labour movement steadily grew, inasmuch as the movement itself grew uninterruptedly. After the death of Marx, Engels continued alone to be the counsellor and leader of the European Socialists. His advice and directions were sought for equally by the German Socialists, who despite government persecution, grew rapidly and steadily in strength, and by representatives of backward countries, such as Spaniards, Rumanians and Russians, who were obliged to ponder over and weigh their first steps. They

all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of the aged Engels.

Marx and Engels, who both knew Russian and read Russian books, took a lively interest in Russia, followed the Russian revolutionary movement with sympathy and maintained contact with Russian revolutionaries. They were both *democrats* before they became Socialists, and the democratic feeling of *hatred* for political despotism was exceedingly strong in them. This direct political feeling, combined with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, as well as their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels uncommonly responsive precisely from the *political* standpoint. That is why the heroic struggle of the small handful of Russian revolutionaries against the mighty tsarist government evoked a most sympathetic echo in the hearts of these tried revolutionaries. On the other hand, the tendency to turn away from the most immediate and important task of the Russian Socialists, namely, the conquest of political freedom, for the sake of illusory economic advantages, naturally appeared suspicious in their eyes and was even regarded by them as a direct betrayal of the great cause of the social revolution. "The emancipation of the proletariat must be the work of the proletariat itself"—Marx and Engels constantly taught. But in order to fight for its economic emancipation, the proletariat must win for itself certain *political* rights. Moreover, Marx and Engels clearly saw that a political revolution in Russia would be of tremendous significance to the West European labour movement as well. Autocratic Russia had always been a bulwark of European reaction in general. The extraordinarily favourable international position enjoyed by Russia as a result of the war of 1870, which for a long time sowed discord between Germany and France, of course only enhanced the importance of autocratic Russia as a reactionary force. Only a free Russia, a Russia that had no need either to oppress the Poles, Finns, Germans, Armenians or any other small nations, or constantly to incite France and Germany against each other, would enable modern Europe to free itself from the burdens of war, would weaken all the reactionary elements in Europe and would increase the power of the European working class.

Engels therefore ardently desired the establishment of political freedom in Russia for the sake of the progress of the labour movement in the West as well. In him the Russian revolutionaries have lost their best friend.

May the memory of Frederick Engels, the great champion and teacher of the proletariat, live forever!

Autumn, 1895

THE MARX-ENGELS CORRESPONDENCE

ENGELS AS ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF COMMUNISM

The long-promised edition of the correspondence of the famous founders of scientific Socialism has at last been published. Engels bequeathed the publication to Bebel and Bernstein, and Bebel managed to complete his part of the editorial work shortly before his death.

The Marx-Engels Correspondence, published a few weeks ago by Dietz, Stuttgart, consists of four big volumes. They contain in all 1,386 letters of Marx and Engels covering an extensive period, from 1844 to 1883.

The editorial work, *i.e.*, the writing of prefaces to the correspondence of various periods, was done by Eduard Bernstein. As might have been expected, this work is unsatisfactory from both the technical and the ideological standpoint. After his notorious "evolution" to extreme opportunist views, Bernstein should never have undertaken to edit letters which are impregnated with the revolutionary spirit through and through. Bernstein's prefaces are in part meaningless and in part simply false—as, for instance, when, instead of a precise, clear and frank characterization of the opportunist errors of Lassalle and Schweitzer which Marx and Engels exposed, one meets with eclectic phrases and thrusts, such as that "one can justly question whether Marx and Engels always judged Lassalle's policy rightly" (Vol. III, p. xviii). or that in their tactics they were "much nearer" to Schweitzer than to Liebknecht (Vol. IV, p. x). These attacks have no meaning save as a screen and embellishment for opportunism. Unfortunately, the eclectic attitude to Marx's ideological struggle against many of his op-

ponents is becoming increasingly widespread among present-day German Social-Democrats.

From the technical standpoint, the index is unsatisfactory--only one for all four volumes (for instance, Kautsky and Stirling are omitted); the notes on each letter are too scanty and are lost in the prefaces of the editor instead of being placed in proximity to the letters they refer to, as they were by Sorge, and so forth.

The price of the publication is unduly high--about 20 rubles for the four volumes. There can be no doubt that the complete correspondence could and should have been published in a less luxurious edition at a more popular price, and that, in addition, a selection of passages most important from the standpoint of principle could and should have been published for wide distribution among workers.

All these defects of the edition of course hamper a study of the correspondence. This is a pity, because its scientific and political value is tremendous. Not only do Marx and Engels stand out before the reader in clear relief in all their greatness, but the extremely rich theoretical content of Marxism is unfolded in a highly graphic way, because in the letters Marx and Engels return again and again to the most diverse aspects of their teaching, emphasizing and explaining--at times discussing and debating--what is newest (in relation to earlier views), most important and most difficult.

There unfolds before the reader a strikingly vivid picture of the history of the labour movement all over the world--at its most important junctures and in its most essential points. Even more valuable is the history of the *politics* of the working class. On the most diverse occasions, in various countries of the old and new worlds, and at diverse historical moments, Marx and Engels discuss the most important principles of the *presentation* of the *political* tasks of the working class. And the period covered by the correspondence was a period in which the working class separated off from bourgeois democracy, a period in which an independent labour movement arose, a period in which the fundamental principles of proletarian tactics and policy were defined. The more we have occasion in our day to observe how the labour movement in vari-

ous countries suffers from opportunism in consequence of the stagnation and decay of the bourgeoisie, in consequence of the attention of the labour leaders being engrossed in the trivialities of the day, and so on—the more valuable becomes the wealth of material contained in the correspondence, displaying as it does a most profound comprehension of the *basic* transformatory aims of the proletariat, and providing an unusually flexible definition of the given tasks of tactics from the standpoint of these revolutionary aims, without making the slightest concession to opportunism or revolutionary phrasemongering.

If one were to attempt to define by a single word the focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence, the central point in which the whole body of ideas expressed and discussed converges—that word would be *dialectics*. The thing that interested Marx and Engels most of all, the thing to which they contributed what was most essential and new, the thing that constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought, was the application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy, from its foundations up—to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class.

We intend in the following account, after giving a general review of the correspondence, to outline the more interesting remarks and arguments of Marx and Engels, without pretending to give an exhaustive account of the contents of the letters.

I GENERAL REVIEW

The correspondence opens with letters written in 1844 by the 24-year-old Engels to Marx. The situation in Germany at that time is brought out in striking relief. The first letter is dated the end of September 1844 and was sent from Barmen where Engels' family lived and where he was born. Engels was not quite 24 years old at the time. He was bored with family life and was anxious to break away. His father was a

despot, a pious manufacturer, who was outraged at his son's continual running about to political meetings and at his Communist views. Were it not for his mother, whom he really loved, Engels wrote, he would not have stood even the few days still remaining until his departure. What petty reasons, what superstitious fears were put forward by the family against his departure, he complained to Marx.

While he was still in Barmen—where he was delayed a little longer by a love affair—Engels gave way to his father and worked for about two weeks in the factory office (his father was a manufacturer). "Huckstering is horrible," he writes to Marx. "Barmen is horrible, the way they spend their time is horrible, and it is most horrible of all to remain, not merely a bourgeois, but a manufacturer, a bourgeois who actively opposes the proletariat. . . ." He consoled himself, Engels goes on to say, by working on his book on the condition of the working class (this book appeared, as is known, in 1845 and is one of the best works of world Socialist literature). "One can while being a Communist remain in outward conditions a bourgeois and a huckstering beast as long as one does not write, but to carry on wide Communist propaganda and at the same time engage in huckstering and industry will not work. I am leaving. Add to this the drowsy life of a thoroughly Christian-Prussian family—I cannot stand it any longer. I might in the end become a German philistine and introduce philistinism into Communism." Thus wrote the young Engels. After the Revolution of 1848 the exigencies of life obliged him to return to his father's office and to become a "huckstering beast" for many long years. But he was able to stand firm and to create for himself, not Christian-Prussian surroundings, but entirely different, comradely surroundings, and to become for the rest of his life a relentless foe of the "introduction of philistinism into Communism."

Social life in the German provinces in 1844 resembled Russian social life at the beginning of the twentieth century, before the Revolution of 1905. There was a general urge for political life, a general seething indignation in opposition to the government; the priests fulminated against the youth for their atheism; children in bourgeois families quarreled with their

parents for their "aristocratic treatment of servants or workers."

The general spirit of opposition found expression in the fact that everybody declared himself to be a Communist. "The Police Commissary in Barmen is a Communist," Engels writes to Marx. He was in Cologne . . . Düsseldorf . . . Elberfeld—and wherever you turn you stumble over Communists! "One ardent Communist, a cartoonist . . . named Seel, is going to Paris in two months. I will give him your address; you will all like him for his enthusiastic nature, his love of music, and he could be used as a cartoonist."

"... Miracles are happening here in Elberfeld. Yesterday [this was written on February 22, 1845], we held our third Communist meeting in the largest hall and the best restaurant of the city. The first meeting was attended by 40 people, the second by 130 and the third by at least 200. The whole of Elberfeld and Barmen, from the moneyed aristocracy to the small shopkeepers, was represented, all except the proletariat."

This is literally what Engels wrote. Everybody in Germany at that time was Communist, except the proletariat. Communism was a form of expression of the opposition sentiments of all, and chiefly of the bourgeoisie. "The most stupid, the most lazy and most philistine people, whom nothing in the world interested, are almost becoming enthusiastic for Communism." The chief preachers of Communism at that time were people of the type of our Narodniks, "Socialist-Revolutionaries," "Popularist Socialists," and so forth, that is to say, well-meaning bourgeois who were more or less furious with the government.

And under such conditions, amidst countless pseudo-Socialist trends and factions, Engels was able to find his way to *proletarian* Socialism, without fearing to break off relations with the mass of well-intentioned people, ardent revolutionaries but bad Communists.

In 1846 Engels was in Paris. Paris was then seething with politics and the discussion of various Socialist theories. Engels eagerly studied Socialism, made the acquaintance of Cabet, Louis Blanc and other prominent Socialists, and ran from editorial office to editorial office and from circle to circle.

His attention was chiefly focussed on the most important

and most widespread Socialist doctrine of the time—Proudhonism. And even before the publication of Proudhon's *Philosophy of Poverty* (October 1846; Marx's reply—the famous book, *The Poverty of Philosophy*—appeared in 1847), Engels, with biting irony and remarkable profundity criticized Proudhon's main ideas, which were then being particularly advocated by the German Socialist Grün. His excellent knowledge of English (which Marx mastered much later) and of English literature enabled Engels at once (letter of September 18, 1846) to point to the example of the bankruptcy of the notorious Proudhonist "labour-exchange bazaars" in England. Proudhon *disgraces* Socialism, Engels exclaims indignantly—it follows from Proudhon that the workers must *buy out* capital.

The 26-year-old Engels simply annihilates "true socialism." We meet this expression in his letter of October 23, 1846, long before the *Communist Manifesto*, and Grün is mentioned as its chief exponent. An "anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, philistine" doctrine, "sheer phrasemongering" all sorts of "humanitarian" aspirations, "superstitious fear of 'crude' Communism" (*Löffel-Kommunismus*, literally: "spoon Communism" or "belly Communism"), "peaceful plans of happiness" for mankind—these are some of Engels' epithets, which apply to *all* species of pre-Marxian Socialism.

"The Proudhon Associations' scheme," writes Engels, "was discussed for three evenings. At first I had nearly the whole clique against me. . . . The chief point was to prove the necessity for revolution by force" (October 23, 1846.) In the end he got furious, he writes, and pressed his opponents so that they were obliged to make an open attack on Communism. He demanded a vote on whether they were Communists or not. This greatly horrified the Grünites who began to argue that they met together to discuss "the good of mankind" and that they must know what Communism *really was*. Engels gave them an extremely simple definition so as to permit no opportunity for digression and evasions. "I therefore defined," Engels writes, "the objects of the Communists in this way: 1) To achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; 2) To do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; 3) To recognize no

means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force.”¹ (Written one and a half years before the 1848 Revolution.)

The discussion concluded by the meeting adopting Engels’ definition by thirteen votes against the votes of two Grünites. These meetings were attended by some twenty journeymen carpenters. Thus the foundations of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Germany were laid in Paris sixty-seven years ago.

A year later, in his letter of November 21, 1847, Engels informed Marx that he had prepared a draft of the *Communist Manifesto*, incidentally declaring himself opposed to the catechism form originally proposed. “I begin: What is Communism?” writes Engels. “And then straight to the proletariat—history of its origin, difference from former workers, development of the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie, crises, results...” “In conclusion the Party policy of the Communists...”²

This historical letter of Engels’ on the first draft of a work which has travelled all over the world and which to this day is true in all its fundamentals and as actual and topical as though it were written yesterday, clearly proves that Marx and Engels are justly named side by side as the founders of modern Socialism.³

October 1913

¹ Cf. Marx Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London pp 12—Ed.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 20 21.—Ed

³ The article breaks off at this point.—Ed.

SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING OF A MEMORIAL TO MARX AND ENGELS

NOVEMBER 7, 1918

We are unveiling a memorial to the leaders of the world workers' revolution, Marx and Engels.

For ages and ages humanity has suffered and languished under the yoke of an insignificant handful of exploiters, who maltreated millions of toilers. But while the exploiters of an earlier period—the landlords—robbed and oppressed the peasant serfs, who were disunited, scattered and ignorant, the exploiters of the new period, the capitalists, saw facing them among the downtrodden masses the vanguard of these masses, the urban, factory, industrial workers. They were united by the factory, they were enlightened by urban life, they were steelled by the common strike struggle and by revolutionary action.

The great and historic merit of Marx and Engels is that they proved by scientific analysis the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and its transition to Communism, under which there will be no more exploitation of man by man.

The great and historic merit of Marx and Engels is that they indicated to the proletarians of all countries their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle *all* the toilers and exploited.

We are living in happy times, when the prophecy of the great Socialists is beginning to be realized. We see the dawn of the international Socialist revolution of the proletariat breaking in a number of countries. The unspeakable horrors of the

imperialist butchery of nations are everywhere evoking a heroic rise of the oppressed masses, and are lending them tenfold strength in the struggle for emancipation.

Let the memorials to Marx and Engels again and again remind the millions of workers and peasants that we are not alone in our struggle. Side by side with us the workers of the more advanced countries are rising. Severe battles still await them and us. In common struggle the yoke of capital will be broken, and Socialism will be finally won!

THE THREE SOURCES, AND THREE COMPONENT PARTS OF MARXISM

Throughout the civilized world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of "pernicious sect." And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no "impartial" social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, *all* official and liberal science *defends* wage slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on wage slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as silly and naive as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question whether workers' wages should be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

But this is not all. The history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling "sectarianism" in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose *away from* the highroad of development of world civilization. On the contrary, the genius of Marx consists precisely in the fact that he furnished answers to questions which had already engrossed the foremost minds of humanity. His teachings arose as a direct and immediate *continuation* of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and Socialism.

The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that was created by

humanity in the nineteenth century in the shape of German philosophy, English political economy and French Socialism.

On these three sources of Marxism, which are at the same time its component parts, we shall briefly dwell.

I

The philosophy of Marxism is *materialism*. Throughout the modern history of Europe, and especially at the end of the eighteenth century in France, which was the scene of a decisive battle against every kind of mediaeval rubbish, against feudalism in institutions and ideas,¹ materialism has proved to be the only philosophy that is consistent, true to all the teachings of natural science and hostile to superstition, cant and so forth. The enemies of democracy therefore tried in every way to "refute," undermine and defame materialism, and advocated various forms of philosophical idealism, which always, in one way or another, amounts to an advocacy or support of religion.

Marx and Engels always defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and repeatedly explained the profound erroneousness of every deviation from this basis. Their views are most clearly and fully expounded in the works of Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach* and *Anti-Dühring*, which, like the *Communist Manifesto*, are handbooks for every class-conscious worker.

But Marx did not stop at the materialism of the eighteenth century; he advanced philosophy. He enriched it with the acquisitions of German classical philosophy, especially of the Hegelian system, which in its turn led to the materialism of Feuerbach. The chief of these acquisitions is *dialectics*, i.e., the doctrine of development in its fullest and deepest form, free of one-sidedness--the doctrine of the relativity of human knowledge, which provides us with a reflection of eternally developing matter. The latest discoveries of natural science--radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements--have remarkably con-

¹ The reference here is to the bourgeois revolution in France (1789-1793).--*Ed.*

firmed Marx's dialectical materialism, despite the teachings of the bourgeois philosophers with their "new" reversion to old and rotten idealism.

Deepening and developing philosophical materialism, Marx completed it, extended its knowledge of nature to the knowledge of *human society*. Marx's *historical materialism* was one of the greatest achievements of scientific thought. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in the views on history and politics gave way to a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops—how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism.

Just as man's knowledge reflects nature (*i.e.*, developing matter), which exists independently of him, so man's *social knowledge* (*i.e.*, his various views and doctrines—philosophical, religious, political, and so forth) reflects the *economic system* of society. Political institutions are a superstructure on the economic foundation. We see, for example, that the various political forms of the modern European states serve to fortify the rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

Marx's philosophy is finished philosophical materialism, which has provided humanity, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge.

II

Having recognized that the economic system is the foundation on which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted most attention to the study of this economic system. Marx's principal work, *Capital*, is devoted to a study of the economic system of modern, *i.e.*, capitalist, society.

Classical political economy, before Marx, evolved in England, the most developed of the capitalist countries. Adam Smith and David Ricardo, by their investigations of the economic system, laid the foundations of the *labour theory of value*. Marx continued their work. He rigidly proved and consistently developed this theory. He showed that the value of every com-

modity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labour time spent on its production.

Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation of things (the exchange of one commodity for another), Marx revealed a *relation of men*. The exchange of commodities expresses the tie by which individual producers are bound through the market. *Money* signifies that this tie is becoming closer and closer, inseparably binding the entire economic life of the individual producers into one whole. *Capital* signifies a further development of this tie: man's labour power becomes a commodity. The wage-worker sells his labour power to the owner of the land, factories and instruments of labour. The worker uses one part of the labour day to cover the expense of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the other part of the day the worker toils without remuneration, creating *surplus value* for the capitalist, the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The doctrine of surplus value is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory.

Capital, created by the labour of the worker, presses on the worker by ruining the small masters and creating an army of unemployed. In industry, the victory of large-scale production is at once apparent, but we observe the same phenomenon in agriculture as well: the superiority of large-scale capitalist agriculture increases, the application of machinery grows, peasant economy falls into the noose of money-capital, it declines and sinks into ruin, burdened by its backward technique. In agriculture, the decline of small-scale production assumes different forms, but the decline itself is an indisputable fact.

By destroying small-scale production, capital leads to an increase in productivity of labour and to the creation of a monopoly position for the associations of big capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social—hundreds of thousands and millions of workers become bound together in a systematic economic organism—but the product of the collective labour is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. The anarchy of production grows, as do crises, the furious chase after markets and the insecurity of existence of the mass of the population.

While increasing the dependence of the workers on capital, the capitalist system creates the great power of united labour.

Marx traced the development of capitalism from the first germs of commodity economy, from simple exchange, to its highest forms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all capitalist countries, old and new, is clearly demonstrating the truth of this Marxian doctrine to increasing numbers of workers every year.

Capitalism has triumphed all over the world, but this triumph is only the prelude to the triumph of labour over capital.

III

When feudalism was overthrown, and "*free*" capitalist society appeared on God's earth, it at once became apparent that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the toilers. Various Socialist doctrines immediately began to arise as a reflection of and protest against this oppression. But early Socialism was *utopian* Socialism. It criticized capitalist society, it condemned and damned it, it dreamed of its destruction, it indulged in fancies of a better order and endeavoured to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

But utopian Socialism could not point the real way out. It could not explain the essence of wage slavery under capitalism, nor discover the laws of its development, nor point to the *social force* which is capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

Meanwhile, the stormy revolutions which everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom, more and more clearly revealed the *struggle of classes* as the basis and the motive force of the whole development.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the feudal class was won except against desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country evolved on a more or less free and democratic basis except by a life and death struggle between the various classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx consists in the fact that he was able before anybody else to draw from this and consistently apply the deduction that world history teaches. This deduction is the doctrine of the *class struggle*.

People always were and always will be the stupid victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the *interests* of some class behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. The supporters of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is maintained by the forces of some ruling classes. And there is *only one* way of smashing the resistance of these classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, and to enlighten and organize for the struggle, the forces which can—and, owing to their social position, *must*—constitute a power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new.

Marx's philosophical materialism has alone shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory has alone explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

Independent organizations of the proletariat are multiplying all over the world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa. The proletariat is becoming enlightened and educated by waging its class struggle; it is ridding itself of the prejudices of bourgeois society; it is rallying its ranks ever more closely and is learning to gauge the measure of its successes; it is steeling its forces and is growing irresistibly.

March 1913

THE HISTORICAL DESTINY OF THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX

The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of a Socialist society. Has the progress of world events confirmed this doctrine since it was expounded by Marx?

Marx first advanced it in 1844. The *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, published in 1848, already gives an integral and systematic exposition of this doctrine, which has remained the best exposition to this day. Subsequent world history clearly falls into three main periods: 1) from the Revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune (1871); 2) from the Paris Commune to the Russian Revolution (1905); 3) since the Russian Revolution.

Let us see what has been the destiny of Marx's doctrine in each of these periods.

I

At the beginning of the first period Marx's doctrine by no means dominated. It was only one of the extremely numerous factions or trends of Socialism. The forms of Socialism which did dominate were in the main akin to our *Narodism*: non-comprehension of the materialist basis of historical movement, inability to assign the role and significance of each class in capitalist society, concealment of the bourgeois essence of democratic reforms under diverse, pseudo-socialistic phrases about "the people," "justice," "right," etc.

The Revolution of 1848 struck a fatal blow at all these vociferous, motley and ostentatious forms of *pre-Marxian* So-

cialism. In all countries the revolution revealed the various classes of society *in action*. The shooting down of the workers by the republican bourgeoisie in the June Days of 1848 in Paris finally established that the proletariat *alone* was Socialist by nature. The liberal bourgeoisie feared the independence of this class a hundred times more than it did any kind of reaction. The craven liberals grovelled before reaction. The peasantry were content with the abolition of the relics of feudalism and joined the supporters of order, only wavering at times between *workers' democracy and bourgeois liberalism*. All doctrines of *non-class* Socialism and *non-class* politics proved to be sheer nonsense.

The Paris Commune (1871) completed this development of bourgeois reforms; the republic, *i.e.*, the form of state organization in which class relations appear in their most unconcealed form, had only the heroism of the proletariat to thank for its consolidation.

In all the other European countries a more entangled and less finished development also led to a definitely shaped bourgeois society. Towards the end of the first period (1848-71)—a period of storms and revolutions—pre-Marxian Socialism *died away*. Independent *proletarian* parties were born: the First International (1864-72) and the German Social-Democratic Party.

II

The second period (1872-1904) was distinguished from the first by its "peaceful" character, by the absence of revolutions. The West had finished with bourgeois revolutions. The East had not yet reached that stage.

The West entered a phase of "peaceful" preparation for the future era of change. Socialist parties, basically proletarian, were formed everywhere and learned to make use of bourgeois parliamentarism and to create their own daily press, their educational institutions, their trade unions and their co-operative societies. The Marxian doctrine gained a complete victory and *spread*. The process of selection and accumulation of the forces of the proletariat and of the preparation of the

proletariat for the impending battles progressed slowly but steadily.

The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism obliged its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten to the core, attempted a revival in the form of Socialist *opportunism*. The opportunists interpreted the period of preparation of forces for the great battles as a renunciation of these battles. The improvement of the conditions of the slaves to enable them to fight against wage slavery they interpreted as the slaves selling their right to liberty for a mess of pottage. They cravenly preached "social peace" (i.e., peace with the slaveowners), the renunciation of the class struggle, and so forth. They had many adherents among Socialist members of parliament, various officials of the labour movement, and the "sympathetic" intellectuals.

III

But the opportunists had scarcely congratulated themselves on "social peace" and the needlessness of storms under "democracy" when a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. The Russian revolution was followed by the Turkish, the Persian and the Chinese revolutions. It is in this era of storms and their "repercussion" in Europe that we are now living. Whatever may be the fate of the great Chinese Republic, against which the various "civilized" hyenas are now baring their teeth, no power on earth can restore the old serfdom in Asia, or wipe out the heroic democracy of the masses of the people in the Asiatic and semi-Asiatic countries.

Certain people, who were inattentive to the conditions of preparation and development of the mass struggle, were driven to despair and to anarchism by the prolonged postponements of the decisive struggle against capitalism in Europe. We can now see how short-sighted and craven this anarchist despair is.

The fact that Asia, with its population of eight hundred million, has been drawn into the struggle for these same European ideals should inspire us with courage and not despair.

The Asiatic revolutions have revealed the same spinelessness and baseness of liberalism, the same exceptional impor-

taunce of the independence of the democratic masses, and the same sharp line of division between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of all kinds. After the experience both of Europe and Asia, whoever now speaks of *non-class* politics and of *non-class* Socialism simply deserves to be put in a cage and exhibited alongside of the Australian kangaroo.

After Asia, Europe has also begun to stir, although not in the Asiatic way. The "peaceful" period of 1872-1904 has passed completely, never to return. The high cost of living and the oppression of the trusts is leading to an unprecedented accentuation of the economic struggle, which has roused even the British workers, who have been most corrupted by liberalism. Before our eyes a political crisis is brewing even in that extreme "diehard," bourgeois-Junker country, Germany. Feverish armaments and the policy of imperialism are turning modern Europe into a "social peace" which is more like a barrel of gunpowder than anything else. And at the same time the decay of *all* the bourgeois parties and the maturing of the proletariat are steadily progressing.

Each of the three great periods of world history since the appearance of Marxism has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that is now opening.

March 1913

“LEFT-WING” COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER

(Excerpt)

II. ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

Certainly, almost everyone now realizes that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years, unless the strictest, truly iron discipline had prevailed in our Party, and unless the latter had been rendered the fullest and unreserved support of the whole mass of the working class, that is, of all its thinking, honest, self-sacrificing and influential elements who are capable of leading or of carrying with them the backward strata.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a *more powerful* enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

I repeat, the experience of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has clearly shown even to those who are unable to think, or who have not had occasion to ponder over this question, that absolute centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat constitute one of the fundamental conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie.

This is often discussed. But not nearly enough thought is given to what it means, and to the conditions that make it possible. Would it not be better if greetings to the Soviet government and the Bolsheviks were *more frequently* accompanied by a *profound analysis* of the reasons *why* the Bolsheviks were able to build up the discipline the revolutionary proletariat needs?

As a trend of political thought and as a political party, Bolshevism exists since 1903. Only the history of Bolshevism during the *whole* period of its existence can satisfactorily explain why it was able to build up and to maintain under most difficult conditions the iron discipline that is needed for the victory of the proletariat.

And first of all the question arises: how is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent, if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletariat, *but also with the non-proletarian* toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses have been convinced *by their own experience* that they are correct. Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party that is really capable of being a party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline inevitably fall flat and end in phrasemongering and grimacing. On the other hand, these conditions can-

not arise all at once. They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by correct revolutionary theory, which, in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement.

That Bolshevism was able, in 1917-20, under unprecedentedly difficult conditions, to build up and successfully maintain the strictest centralization and iron discipline was simply due to a number of historical peculiarities of Russia.

On the one hand, Bolshevism arose in 1903 in the very firm foundation of the theory of Marxism. And the correctness of this—and only this—revolutionary theory has been proved not only by the experience of all countries throughout the nineteenth century, but particularly by the experience of the wanderings and vacillations, the mistakes and disappointments of revolutionary thought in Russia. For nearly half a century—approximately from the 'forties to the 'nineties—advanced thinkers in Russia, under the oppression of an unparalleled, savage and reactionary tsardom, eagerly sought for the correct revolutionary theory and followed each and every "last word" in Europe and America in this sphere with astonishing diligence and thoroughness. Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, veritably through *suffering*, by half a century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, testing in practice, disappointment, verification and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the enforced emigration caused by tsardom, revolutionary Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century possessed a wealth of international connections and excellent information about world forms and theories of the revolutionary movement such as no other country in the world possessed.

On the other hand, having arisen on this granite theoretical foundation, Bolshevism passed through fifteen years (1903-17) of practical history which in wealth of experience has had no equal anywhere else in the world. For no other country during these fifteen years had anything even approximating to this revolutionary experience, this rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement—legal and illegal, peaceful

and stormy, underground and open, circles and mass movements, parliamentary and terrorist. In no other country was there concentrated during so short a time such a wealth of forms, shades, and methods of struggle involving *all* classes of modern society, and moreover, a struggle which, owing to the backwardness of the country and the heaviness of the yoke of tsardom, matured with exceptional rapidity and assimilated most eagerly and successfully the appropriate "last word" of American and European political experience.

April 27, 1920

WHAT THE "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE" ARE AND HOW THEY FIGHT THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

(A REPLY TO ARTICLES IN *RUSSKOYE BOGATSTVO* OPPOSING THE MARXISTS.)

(*Excerpt*)

Generally speaking, the Russian Communists, the Russian adherents of Marxism, ought more than any others to call themselves SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS, and in their activities they must never forget the enormous importance of DEMOCRACY.¹

In Russia, the remnants of mediaeval, semi-feudal institutions are still so very strong (as compared with Western Europe), they impose such a heavy yoke upon the proletariat and the people generally, retarding the growth of political thought in all ranks and classes, that one cannot refrain from insisting how tremendously important it is for the workers to combat all feudal institutions, absolutism, the system of social estates and the bureaucracy. It must be explained to the worker in the greatest detail what a terrible reactionary force these institutions are, how they intensify the oppression of labour by capital, how they degrade the labourers, how they maintain capital in its mediaeval forms, which, while not in the least, outdone by the modern, industrial forms in the exploitation of labour, supplement this exploitation by placing enormous difficulties in the way of the struggle for emancipation. The workers must

¹ This is a very important point. Plekhanov is quite right when he says that our revolutionaries have "two enemies: old prejudices that have not yet been entirely eradicated, on the one hand, and a narrow conception of the new program, on the other." See Appendix III (p. 95 in this volume.—*Ed.*)

know that unless these pillars of reaction¹ are overthrown, it will be utterly impossible for them to wage a successful struggle against the bourgeoisie, because as long as they exist the Russian rural proletariat, whose support is an essential condition for the victory of the working class, will never cease to be downtrodden and cowed, capable only of sullen desperation and not of intelligent and persistent protest and struggle. And therefore it is the direct duty of the working class to fight side by side with the radical democracy against absolutism and the reactionary estates and institutions—and the Social-Democrats must impress this upon the workers, while not for a moment ceasing to impress upon them also that the struggle against these institutions is necessary only as a means of facilitating the struggle against the bourgeoisie, that the achievement of general democratic demands is necessary for the worker only to clear the road to victory over the chief enemy of the toilers, over an institution which is purely democratic by nature, *viz.*, *capital*, which here in Russia is particularly inclined to sacrifice its democracy and to enter into alliance with the reactionaries in order to suppress the workers and to still further retard the rise of a labour movement.

What has been said is, I think, sufficient to define the attitude of the Social-Democrats towards absolutism and political liberty, and also towards the trend, which has been growing particularly strong of late, that aims to "amalgamate" and

¹ A particularly imposing reactionary institution one to which our revolutionaries have paid relatively little attention is our *bureaucracy*, which *de facto* rules the Russian state. Its ranks filled mainly by commoners this bureaucracy is both in origin and in the purpose and character of its activities profoundly bourgeois but absolutism and the enormous political privileges of the squirearchy have lent it particularly pernicious qualities. It is ever a weathercock which regards it as its supreme task to reconcile the interests of the landlord and the bourgeois. It is a Judushka using his feudal sympathies and connections to fool the workers and peasants and, on the pretext of "protecting the economically weak" and acting as their "guardian" against the kulak and usurer, resorts to measures which reduce the toilers to the status of a "base rabble," completely delivering them into the hands of the feudal landlord and making them all the more defenceless against the bourgeoisie. It is a most dangerous hypocrite—having learned from the experience of the West European masters of reaction it skilfully conceals its Arakcheyev designs behind the fig-leaf of love of the people.

"unite" all the revolutionary groups for the winning of political liberty.

This trend is rather peculiar and characteristic.

It is peculiar because the proposal for "unity" does not come from a definite group, or groups, with definite programs which coincide in one point or another. If it did, the question of unity could be decided in each separate case; it would be a concrete question that could be decided by the representatives of the uniting groups. Then there could be no special trend advocating "amalgamation." But there is such a trend, and it originates simply with people who have cut adrift from the old, and have not moored to anything new. The theory on which the fighters against absolutism have hitherto based themselves is obviously crumbling, and this is also destroying the conditions of solidarity and organization which are essential for the struggle. And so, these "amalgamators" and "uniters" seem to think that the easiest way to create such a theory is to reduce it all to a protest against absolutism and a demand for political liberty, while evading all other questions, socialist and non-socialist. It goes without saying that this naive fallacy will inevitably be refuted at the very first attempts at such union.

But what makes this "amalgamation" trend characteristic is that it expresses one of the latest stages in that process of transformation of militant, revolutionary Narodism into political radical democracy, which I have tried to outline above. A durable amalgamation of all the non-Social-Democratic revolutionary groups under the banner mentioned will be possible only when a durable program of *democratic* demands has been drawn up that will put an end to the prejudices of the old Russian exceptionalism. Of course, the Social-Democrats believe that the formation of such a democratic party would be a useful forward step; and their work of opposing Narodism should further it, should further the eradication of all prejudices and myths, the grouping of all Socialists under the banner of Marxism and the formation of a democratic party by the other groups.

The Social-Democrats could not, of course, "amalgamate" with such a party, either, for they consider it necessary for the workers to organize into an independent workers' party; but

the workers would most strongly support any struggle—the democrats put up against reactionary institutions.

The degeneration of Narodism into a common most petty-bourgeois radical theory—of which the "friends of the people" furnish such striking testimony—shows how serious is the mistake committed by those who call upon the workers to fight absolutism without at the same time explaining to them the antagonistic character of our social relations—by virtue of which the ideologists of the bourgeoisie also stand for political liberty—without explaining to them the historical role of the Russian worker as the champion of the emancipation of all the toiling population.

The Social-Democrats are often accused of wanting to monopolize Marx's theory, whereas, it is argued, his economic theory is accepted by all Socialists. But what, one asks, is the use of explaining to the workers the form of value, the nature of the bourgeois system and the revolutionary role of the proletariat, if here in Russia the exploitation of the toilers is generally and universally attributed not to the bourgeois organization of social economy, but, say, to land hunger, payments, or the tyranny of the administration?

What is the use of expounding the theory of the class struggle to the worker, if that theory cannot even explain his relations to the factory-owner (capitalism in Russia is artificially implanted by the government), not to mention the mass of the "people," who do not belong to the fully-evolved class of factory workers?

How can one accept Marx's economic theory and its corollary—the revolutionary role of the proletariat as the organizer of Communism through the medium of capitalism, if one tries to find ways to Communism other than through capitalism and the proletariat it creates?

Obviously, to call upon the worker to fight for political liberty under such conditions would be equivalent to calling upon him to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the progressive bourgeoisie. For it cannot be denied (it is significant that even the Narodniks and the Narodovolsi¹ did not deny it) that

¹ *Narodovolsi*—members of "Narodnaya Volya" ("People's Will"), a popular revolutionary organization which resorted to individual terro-

political liberty will primarily serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and will not improve the conditions of the workers, but . . . only the conditions for their struggle . . . *against this very bourgeoisie*. I say this as against those Socialists who, while they do not accept the theory of the Social-Democrats, carry their agitation among the workers, having become convinced empirically that only among the latter are revolutionary elements to be found. The theory of these Socialists contradicts their practice, and they make the very serious mistake of distracting the workers from their direct task of ORGANIZING A SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY.¹

This mistake arose naturally at a time when the class antagonisms of bourgeois society were as yet quite undeveloped, when they were held down by serfdom, when the latter gave rise to a unanimous protest and struggle on the part of the whole of the intelligentsia, which created the illusion that there was something peculiarly democratic about our intelligentsia, and that there was no profound gulf between the ideas of the liberals and those of the Socialists. Now, however, when economic development has advanced so far that even those who formerly denied that there was any soil for capitalism in Russia admit that it is precisely the capitalist path of development that we have entered, illusions on this score are no longer possible. The composition of the "intelligentsia" is coming to be just as clear as that of the society engaged in the production of material values: while the latter is ruled and governed by the capitalist, the "tone" in the former is set by the rapidly growing horde of careerists and bourgeois hirelings, and "intelligent-

ristic acts against outstanding representatives of the autocracy as a method of political struggle.—Ed

¹ There are two ways of arriving at the conclusion that the worker must be roused to fight absolutism: *either* by regarding the worker as the sole champion of the Socialist system, and political freedom, therefore, as one of the means of facilitating his struggle. That is the view of the Social Democrats. *Or* by appealing to him simply as the man who suffers most from the present system, who has nothing more to lose and who can most determinedly take up the cudgels against absolutism. But that will mean compelling the worker to drag in the wake of the bourgeois radicals who refuse to see the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie behind the solidarity of the whole "people" against absolutism.

sia" which is contented and satisfied, which is a stranger to all nonsense and which knows very well what it wants. Far from denying this, our radicals and liberals strongly emphasize it and strain themselves to prove how immoral it is, condemn it, strive to confound it, to shame it—and to destroy it. These naive efforts to make the bourgeois intelligentsia *ashamed* of being bourgeois are as ridiculous as the efforts of our middle-class economists to frighten our bourgeoisie (pleading the experience of "elder brothers") by warning them that ~~they~~ they are making for the ruin of the people, the poverty, unemployment and starvation of the masses; this sitting in judgment on the bourgeoisie and its ideologists is reminiscent of the court which was held on the pike, and which condemned it to be thrown into the river. Beyond these stand the liberal and radical "intelligentsia," who endlessly spout about progress, science, truth, the people, etc., and who love to lament the passing of the 'sixties, when there was no discord, depression, despondency and apathy, and when all hearts were fired by democracy.

With their characteristic simplicity, these gentlemen refuse to understand that the unanimity that then prevailed was due to the material conditions of the time, which can never return: serfdom oppressed all equally—the serf bailiff, who had saved up a bit of money and wanted to live in comfort; the thrifty muzhik, who hated the landlord because of the dues he had to pay him, and because he interfered in his business and tore him from his work; the proletarian domestic and impoverished muzhik who was sold into bondage to the merchant; all suffered from serfdom: the merchant manufacturer, the worker, the kустar and the artisan. The only tie that linked all these people together was their hostility to serfdom; beyond that unanimity, the sharpest economic antagonisms began. How completely one must be lulled by sweet illusions to fail to perceive these antagonisms even today, when they have become so enormously developed, and to weep for the return of the times of unanimity, when the realities of the situation demand struggle, demand that everyone who does not desire to be a WILLING or UNWILLING time-server of the bourgeoisie shall take his stand on the side of the proletariat!

If you refuse to believe the florid talk about the "interests of the people" and try to delve deeper into the matter, you will find that you are dealing with the purest ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie, which dreams of improving, supporting and restoring its ("popular" in their jargon) husbandry by various innocent progressive measures, and which is totally incapable of understanding that, the relations of production being what they are, the only effect such progressive measures can have is to proletarianize the masses still more. We cannot but be grateful to the "friends of the people" for having done so much to reveal the class character of our intelligentsia and for thus having fortified the Marxists' theory that our small producers are petty-bourgeois. They must inevitably hasten the dissipation of the old illusions and myths that have so long confused the minds of the Russian Socialists. The "friends of the people" have so mauled, vulgarized and soiled these theories that the Russian Socialists who held them are confronted with the inexorable dilemma—either to revise them, or to abandon them altogether and leave them to the exclusive use of the gentlemen who with smug solemnity announce *urbi et orbi* that the rich peasants are buying implements, and who with serious mien assure us that we must welcome people who have grown weary of sitting around card tables. And in this strain they talk about a "popular system" and the "intelligentsia"—talk, not only with a serious air, but in pretentious, pompous phrases about broad ideals, about an ideal treatment of the problems of life! . . .

The Socialist intelligentsia can expect to perform fruitful work only when it abandons its illusions and begins to seek support in the actual, and not the desired development of Russia, in the actual, and not the possible economic relations of society. Moreover, its THEORETICAL work must be directed towards *the concrete study of all forms of economic antagonism in Russia, the study of their connections and sequence of development; it must disclose these antagonisms wherever they have been concealed by political history, by the peculiarities of legal systems or by established theoretical prejudices.* It must *present an integral picture of our conditions as a definite system of relations of production, it must show that the exploita-*

tion and expropriation of the toilers are inevitable under this system, and must point the way out of this system as indicated by economic development.

This theory, based on a detailed study of Russian history and realities, must furnish an answer to the needs of the proletariat—and if it satisfies the requirements of science, then every awakening of the protesting thought of the proletariat will inevitably guide this thought into the channels of Social-Democracy. The farther the building up of this theory advances, the more rapidly will Social-Democracy grow; for even the most artful guardians of the present system cannot prevent the awakening of the thought of the proletariat, because this system itself necessarily and inevitably leads to the intensified expropriation of the producers, to the continuous growth of the proletariat and of its reserve army, simultaneously with the progress of social wealth, the enormous growth of productive forces, and the socialization of labour by capitalism. Although a great deal has still to be done to build up this theory, the accomplishment of this task by the Socialists is guaranteed by the spread among them of materialism, the only scientific method, a method which demands that every program shall be a precise formulation of the actual process; it is guaranteed by the success of Social-Democracy, which has adopted these ideas—a success which has so stirred up our liberals and democrats that, as a certain Marxist puts it, their bulky magazines have ceased to be dull.

In thus emphasizing the necessity, importance and immensity of the theoretical work of the Social-Democrats, I have not the least desire to suggest that this work must take precedence over PRACTICAL work¹—still less that the latter be postponed until the former is completed. Only the admirers of the "subjective method in sociology," or the followers of utopian Socialism, could arrive at such a conclusion. Of course, if it

¹ On the contrary, the practical work of propaganda and agitation must always take precedence, because: (1) theoretical work only provides replies to the problems which practical work raises, and (2) the Social Democrats, for reasons over which they have no control, are too often compelled to confine themselves to theoretical work not to value highly every moment when practical work becomes possible.

is presumed that the task of Socialists is to seek "different [from the actual] paths of development" for the country, then, naturally, practical work becomes possible only when philosophical geniuses discover and indicate these "different paths"; and the discovery and indication of these paths will, in turn, mark the close of theoretical work, and the beginning of the work of those who are to direct the "fatherland" along the "newly discovered" "different paths." The position is altogether different when the task of the Socialists is understood to mean that they must be the ideological leaders of the proletariat in its actual struggle against actual and real enemies who pursue the actual path of social and economic development. In these circumstances, theoretical and practical work merge into one, which the veteran German Social-Democrat, Liebknecht, aptly described as:

*Studieren, Propagandieren, Organisieren.*¹

It is impossible to be an ideological leader without performing the above-mentioned theoretical work, just as it is impossible to be an ideological leader without directing this work to meet the requirements of the cause, and without propagating the results of this theory among the workers and helping them to organize.

Presenting the task in this way will guard Social-Democracy against the defects of dogmatism and sectarianism from which Socialist groups so often suffer.

There can be no dogmatism where the supreme and sole criterion of a doctrine is whether or not it conforms to the actual process of social and economic development; there can be no sectarianism when the task undertaken is to assist the organizing of the proletariat, and when, therefore, the role of the "intelligentsia" is to make special leaders from among the intelligentsia unnecessary.

Hence, notwithstanding the differences of opinion existing among Marxists on various theoretical questions, the methods of their political activity have remained unchanged ever since the group arose.

¹ Study propaganda, organization.--Ed.

The political activities of the Social-Democrats consist in assisting the development and organization of the working-class movement in Russia, in transforming it from its present state of sporadic attempts at protests, "riots" and strikes which lack a guiding idea, into an organized struggle of the WHOLE Russian working CLASS directed against the bourgeois regime and striving for the expropriation of the expropriators and the abolition of the social system which is based on the oppression of the toilers. Underlying these activities is the common conviction of all Marxists that the Russian worker is the sole and natural representative of the whole toiling and exploited population of Russia.¹

He is their natural representative because the exploitation of the toilers in Russia is *everywhere capitalistic in nature*, if we leave out of account the moribund remnants of serf economy; only the exploitation of the mass of producers is on a small scale, scattered and undeveloped, whereas the exploitation of the factory proletariat is on a large scale, socialized and concentrated. In the former case, exploitation is still enmeshed by mediaeval forms, by various political, legal and social trappings, tricks and devices, which hinder the toiler and his ideologist in perceiving the essence of the system which oppresses the toiler, and the way out of this system. In the latter case, on the contrary, exploitation is fully developed and emerges in its pure form, without any confusing minutiae. The worker can no longer fail to see that it is *capital* that is oppressing him, and that his struggle must be waged against the bourgeois *class*. And this struggle, which is a struggle for the satisfaction of his immediate economic needs, for the improvement of his material conditions, inevitably demands that the workers organize, and inevitably becomes a war not against individuals, but against a *class*, the class which not only in the factories, but everywhere oppresses and crushes the toilers. That is why the factory worker is none other than the foremost representative

¹ The man of the future in Russia is the muzhik—thought the representatives of peasant Socialism, the Narodniks in the broadest sense of the term. The man of the future in Russia is the worker—think the Social-Democrats. That is how the view of the Marxists was formulated in a certain manuscript.

of the whole exploited population. And in order that he may fulfil his function of representative in an organized and sustained struggle, it is not at all necessary to enthuse him with "perspectives"; all that is needed is to *make him understand his position*, to make him understand the political and economic structure of the system that oppresses him and the necessity and inevitability of class antagonism under this system. The position of the factory worker in the general system of capitalist relations makes him the sole fighter for the emancipation of the working class, for only the higher stage of development of capitalism, large-scale machine industry, creates the material conditions and the social forces necessary for this struggle. In all other places, where the forms of development of capitalism are low, these material conditions are absent: production is scattered among thousands of tiny enterprises (and they do not cease to be scattered *enterprises* even under the most equalitarian forms of communal landownership), the exploited for the most part still possess tiny enterprises, and are thus tied to the very bourgeois system they should be fighting: this retards and hinders the development of the social forces that are capable of overthrowing capitalism. Scattered, individual, petty exploitation binds the toilers to a particular place, disunites them, prevents them from appreciating their class solidarity, prevents them from uniting and understanding that the cause of their exploitation is not any particular individual, but the whole economic system. Large-scale capitalism, on the contrary, inevitably severs all the workers' ties with the old society, with a particular locality and a particular exploiter; it unites them, compels them to think and puts them in conditions which enable them to commence an organized struggle. Accordingly, it is on the working class that the Social-Democrats concentrate all their attention and all their activities. When its advanced representatives have mastered the ideas of scientific Socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas spread far and wide, and when there arise among the workers durable organizations which will transform the present sporadic economic war of the workers into a conscious class struggle—then the Russian WORKER, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolut-

ism and lead the RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT (side by side with the proletariat of ALL COUNTRIES) *along the straight road of open political struggle towards the VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.*

The End.

1894

Appendix III

When I speak of the narrow conception of Marxism, I have the Marxists themselves in mind. One cannot help remarking in this connection that Marxism is most atrociously narrowed and garbled when our liberals and radicals undertake to expound it in the pages of the legal press. What an exposition it is! Only think how this revolutionary doctrine must be mutilated in order to fit it into the Procrustean bed of the Russian censorship! Yet our publicists lightheartedly perform that operation: Marxism as they expound it is practically reduced to a doctrine of how under the capitalist system individual property, based on the labour of the owner, undergoes its dialectical development, how it becomes converted into its negation, and is then socialized. And with a serious mien, they assume the whole content of Marxism to lie in this "scheme," ignoring all the specific features of its sociological method, the doctrine of the class struggle, and the direct purpose of the enquiry, namely, to disclose all the forms of antagonism and exploitation in order to help the proletariat get rid of them. It is not surprising that the result is something so pale and wan that our radicals begin to bewail the poor Russian Marxists. We should think so! Russian absolutism and Russian reaction would not be absolutism and reaction if it were possible, while they exist, to expound Marxism fully, exactly and completely, setting forth its conclusions without reservation! And if our liberals and radicals knew Marxism properly (if only, from German literature), they would scruple to disfigure it so in the pages of the censored press. If a theory cannot be expounded—keep silent, or make the reservation that you are expounding it far from completely, that you are

omitting what is most essential in it; but when you are expounding only fragments how can you say that it is narrow?

That indeed, is the only reason for the curious fact, possible only in Russia, that people are counted Marxists who have no conception of the class struggle, of the antagonism necessarily inherent in capitalist society, and of the development of this antagonism; who have no idea of the revolutionary role of the proletariat; who even directly come forward with bourgeois projects, provided only they contain such catchwords as "money economy," its "necessity," and similar expressions, which to regard as specifically Marxist requires all the intellectual profundity of a Mr. Mikhailovsky.¹

Marx on the other hand considered that the whole value of his theory lay in the fact that it is "by its very nature a critical² and revolutionary theory." And this latter quality is indeed completely and unconditionally characteristic of *Marxism*, for this theory directly sets out to *disclose* all the forms of antagonism and exploitation in modern society, to trace their evolution, demonstrate their transient character, the inevitability of their transformation into a different form, *and thus help the proletariat as quickly and easily as possible to put an end to all exploitation*. The irresistible attraction which draws the Socialists of all countries to this theory indeed lies in the fact that it is at one and the same time strictly and profoundly scientific (representing as it does the last word in social science) and revolutionary, and combines the two not by chance, not only because the founder of the doctrine combined in his own person the qualities of a scientist and a revolutionary, but intrinsically and inseparably, in the theory itself. For, indeed, the purpose of theory, the aim of science, as directly laid down

¹ Mikhailovsky N. K. (1842-1902)—prominent theoretician of the Narodovoltsi in 1880-1890. Carried on a fierce struggle against Marxists.—Ed.

² Note that Marx is speaking here of materialist criticism, which alone he regards as scientific—a criticism, that is, which compares the political, legal, social and other facts with economics, with the system of production relations, with the interests of the classes that inevitably spring from all antagonistic social relations. That Russian social relations are antagonistic, nobody could surely doubt. But nobody has yet endeavoured to take them as a basis for *such* a criticism.

here, is to assist the class of the oppressed in its actual economic struggle.

"We do not say to the world: Cease struggling—your whole struggle is futile. All we do is to provide it with a true slogan of the struggle."

Hence, according to Marx, the direct purpose of science is to provide a true slogan of the struggle, that is, to be able to present this struggle objectively, as the product of a definite system of relations of production, to be able to *understand* the necessity of this struggle, its meaning, course and conditions of development. It is impossible to provide a "slogan of the struggle" unless every separate form of the struggle is minutely studied, unless every one of its steps in the transition from one form to another is followed, so as to make it possible to define the situation at any given moment, without losing sight of the general character of the struggle and its general aim, namely, the complete and final abolition of all exploitation and all oppression.

Try to compare with Marx's "critical and revolutionary" theory the insipid trash which "our well-known" N. K. Mikhailovsky set forth in his "criticism" and tilted at, and you will be astonished that there can really be people who regard themselves as "ideologists of the toiling class," yet confine themselves—to that "flat disc" into which our publicists transform the Marxian theory by expunging everything that is vital in it.

Try to compare with the demands of this theory our Narodnik literature, which also, you know, is motivated by the desire to be the ideological leader of the toiler, a literature devoted to the history and to the present state of our economic system in general and of the peasantry in particular, and you will be astonished that Socialists could remain satisfied with such a theory, which confined itself to studying and describing distress and to moralizing over it. Serfdom is depicted not as a definite form of economic organization which gives rise to exploitation of such and such a kind, to such and such antagonistic classes, to such and such political, legal and other systems, but simply as an abuse on the part of the landlords and an injustice to the peasants. The Peasant Reform is depicted, not as

a clash of definite economic forms and of definite economic classes, but as a measure of the authorities, who "chose" a "false path" by mistake, despite their very best intentions. Post-Reform Russia is depicted as a deviation from the true path, accompanied by the distress of the toiler, and not as a definite system of antagonistic relations of production with such and such a course of development.

Now, however, there can be no doubt that this theory has lost credit, and the sooner Russian Socialists realize that with the present level of knowledge there can be no revolutionary theory except Marxism, the sooner they devote all their efforts to applying this theory to Russia, theoretically and practically—the surer and quicker will be the success of revolutionary work.

A PROTEST BY RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

At a meeting of Social-Democrats, seventeen in number, held at a certain place (in Russia), the following resolution was unanimously passed and it was resolved to publish it and to submit it to all the comrades for their consideration

A tendency has been observed among Russian Social-Democrats recently to depart from the fundamental principles of Russian Social-Democracy that were proclaimed by the founders and front-rank fighters, the members of the "Emancipation of Labour" Group,¹ as well as in the Social-Democratic publications, of the Russian workers' organizations of the 'nineties. The *Credo*² reproduced below, which is presumed to express the fundamental views of certain ("young") Russian Social-Democrats, represents an attempt at a systematic and definite exposition of the "new views." The following is the *Credo* in full.

"The handicraft and manufacture period in the West left a sharp impress on the whole of subsequent history and particularly on the history of Social-Democracy. The fact that the bourgeoisie was obliged to fight for free forms, that it strove for release from the guild regulations which fettered production, made the bourgeoisie a revolutionary element; everywhere in the West it began with *liberté, fraternité, égalité*, (liberty, fraternity, equality) with the achievement of free political forms. By these gains, however, as Bismarck expressed it, it drew a bill on the future payable to its antipode—the working class. Almost everywhere in the West, the working class, as a class, did not win the democratic institutions—it made use of them. Against this it may be argued that the working

¹ "Emancipation of Labour" Group—the first Russian Marxist group founded by G. V. Plekhanov in 1883, in Switzerland, which did a great deal to disseminate Marxism in Russia.—Ed.

² Creed, program, world-outlook.—Ed.

class took part in revolutions. A reference to history will refute this opinion because, precisely in 1848, when the consolidation of Constitutions took place in the West, the working class consisted of the urban artisan element, represented urban democracy; a factory proletariat hardly existed, while the proletariat employed in large-scale industry (the German weavers—Hauptmann,¹ The Weavers of Lyons) represented a wild mass capable only of rioting, but not of advancing any political demands. It can be definitely stated that the Constitutions of 1848 were won by the bourgeoisie and the small urban artisans. On the other hand, the working class (artisans, manufactory workers, printers, weavers, watchmakers, etc.) have been accustomed since the Middle Ages to membership in organizations, in mutual aid societies, religious societies, etc. This spirit of organization is still alive among the skilled workers in the West and sharply distinguishes them from the factory proletariat who submit to organization badly and slowly and are capable only of forming *lose organisation* (temporary organizations) and not permanent organizations with rules and regulations. These skilled manufacturing labourers comprised the core of Social-Democratic parties. Thus, the following picture was obtained: on the one hand, relatively easy and complete opportunity for political struggle; on the other hand, the opportunity for the systematic organization of this struggle with the aid of the workers who had been trained in the manufacturing period. It was on this basis that theoretical and practical Marxism grew up in the West. The starting point was the parliamentary political struggle with the prospect—only superficially resembling Blanquism,² but of a totally different origin—with the prospect of capturing power, on the one hand, and of a *Zusammenbruch* (cataclysm) on the other. Marxism was the theoretical expression of the prevailing practice: of the political struggle which prevailed over the economic struggle. In Belgium and in France, but particularly in Germany, the workers organized the political struggle with incredible ease, but it was with enormous difficulty and tremendous friction that they organized the economic struggle. Even to this day the economic organizations compared with the political organizations (this does not apply to England), are extraordinarily weak and unstable, and everywhere *laissent à désirer quelque chose* (leave much to be desired). While the energy in the political struggle had not yet been completely exhausted, *Zusammenbruch* was an essential organizational *Schlagwort* (catchword) destined to play an extremely important historical role. The fundamental law that can be discerned in studying the labour

¹ *Gerhart Hauptmann* (1862)—German poet and dramatist. Author of *The Weavers*, a drama depicting the uprising of the Silesian weavers in the 1840's.—Ed.

² *Blanquism*—one of the trends in the French Socialist movement of which Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), a prominent French revolutionary, was the leading spirit. "Blanquism," wrote Lenin, hoped "to free humanity from wage slavery not by means of the class struggle of the proletariat but by means of a conspiracy of a select intellectual minority."—Ed.

movement is the line of least resistance. In the West, this line was political activity, and Marxism, as formulated in the *Communist Manifesto*, was the best possible form the movement could assume. But when all energy had been exhausted in the political activity, when the political movement had reached a point of intensity beyond which it was difficult and almost impossible to lead it (the slow increase in votes lately, the apathy of the public at meetings, the note of despondency in literature), on the other hand, the ineffectiveness of parliamentary action and the entry into the arena of the ignorant masses of the unorganized and almost unorganizable factory proletariat gave rise in the West to what is now called Bernsteinism.¹ the crisis of Marxism. It is difficult to imagine a more logical process of development of the labour movement from the period of the *Communist Manifesto* to the period of Bernsteinism, and a careful study of the whole of this process can determine with astronomical exactitude the outcome of this "crisis." The point at issue here is, of course, not the defeat or victory of Bernsteinism—that is of little interest; it is the fundamental change in practical activity that has been gradually taking place for a long time within the parties.

This change will take place not only in the direction of a more energetic prosecution of the economic struggle and of the consolidation of the economic organizations, but also, and this is most important, in the direction of a change in the attitude of the parties towards other opposition parties. Intolerant Marxism, negative Marxism, primitive Marxism (whose conception of the class division of society is too schematic), will give way to democratic Marxism, and the social position of the party in modern society must undergo a sharp change. The party will recognize society, its narrow corporative and, in the majority of cases, sectarian tasks will be widened to social tasks, and its striving to seize power will be transformed into a striving for change a striving to reform present day society in a democratic direction adapted to the present state of affairs with the object of protecting the rights (all rights) of the toiling classes in the most successful and fullest way. The concept of 'politics' will be enlarged to truly social significance, and the practical demands of the moment will acquire greater weight and will be able to count on receiving greater attention than they have been getting up to now.

"From this brief description of the process of development of the labour movement in the West, it is not difficult to draw conclusions for Russia. In Russia, the line of least resistance will never tend in the direction of political activity. The incredible political oppression that prevails gives rise to much talk about it and it is on this that attention is concentrated; but it will never result in action being taken. While, in the West, the fact that the workers were drawn into political activity served

¹ *Bernsteinism* an opportunist trend in the international Social Democratic movement which first appeared at the end of the nineteenth century of which Edward Bernstein, a German Social-Democrat, was the leading light. Bernstein strove to revise the revolutionary doctrines of Marx in the spirit of bourgeois liberalism.—Ed.

to strengthen and crystallize the weak forces of the workers, in Russia, on the contrary, these weak forces are confronted with a wall of political oppression, and not only do they lack practical means of fighting this oppression, and hence, also of their own development, but they are systematically strangled and cannot even give forth weak shoots. If to this we add that the working class in our country has not inherited the spirit of organization which distinguished the fighters in the West, we get a gloomy picture, one that is likely to drive into despondency the most optimistic Marxist who believes that an extra factory chimney stack, by the very fact that it exists, will bring great prosperity. The economic struggle too is hard, infinitely hard, but it is possible to wage it, it is in fact being waged by the masses themselves. By learning to organize in the midst of this struggle, and coming into constant conflict with the political regime in the course of it, the Russian worker will at last create what may be called the form of a labour movement, the organization or organizations that will best conform to Russian conditions. At the present, it can be said with certainty that the Russian labour movement is still in the amœba state and has not yet created any form. The strike movement, which is going on with all types of organization, cannot yet be described as the crystallized form of the Russian movement, whereas the underground organizations are not worth consideration even from the mere quantitative point of view (quite apart from the question of their usefulness under present conditions).

"That is the situation. If to this we add the famine and the process of the ruination of the countryside, which give rise to the *Streikbrecher* ism,¹ and, consequently, to even greater difficulties in the way of raising the masses of the workers to a more tolerable cultural level, then . . . well, what is there to do for the Russian Marxist?! The talk about an independent workers' political party is nothing but the product of an attempt to transplant alien tasks and alien results to our soil. The Russian Marxist, so far, is a sad spectacle. His practical tasks at the present time are paltry, his theoretical knowledge, in so far as he utilizes it, *not as an instrument for research* but as a scheme for activity, is worthless for the purpose of fulfilling even those paltry practical tasks. Moreover, these borrowed schemes are harmful from the practical point of view. Our Marxists forget that the working class in the West entered the field of political activity after it had already been cleared, and, are too contemptuous of the radical or liberal opposition activity of all other non-labour strata of society. The slightest attempt to concentrate attention on public manifestations of a liberal political character rouses the protests of the orthodox Marxists who forget that a number of historical conditions prevent us from being Western Marxists and demand of us a different Marxism, applicable to and necessary for Russian conditions. Obviously, the fact that every Russian citizen lacks political feeling and sense cannot be compensated by talk about politics or by appeals to a non-existent power. This political sense can only be acquired by training, i.e., by parti-

¹ Strike breaking, scabbing —Ed

icipating in the life (however un-Marxian it may be) that is offered by Russian conditions. However opportune (temporarily) 'negation' may have been in the West, it is harmful in Russia, because negation coming from something that is organized and having real power is one thing whereas negation coming from an amorphous mass of scattered individuals is another thing.

"There is only one way out for the Russian Marxist: he must participate, *i. e.*, assist in the economic struggle of the proletariat, and take part in liberal opposition activity. As a 'negator,' the Russian Marxist came on the scene very early, and this negation weakened that share of his energy that should be used in the direction of political radicalism. For the time being, this is not terrible; but if the class scheme prevents the Russian intellectual from taking an active part in life and removes him to too great a distance from opposition circles, it will be a serious loss to all those who are compelled to fight for constitutional forms separately from the working class, which has not yet put forward political tasks. The political innocence of the Russian Marxist intellectual which is concealed behind his cerebral disquisitions as political topics may play the mischief with him."

We do not know whether there are many Russian Social-Democrats who share these views. But there is no doubt that ideas of this kind have their adherents, and that is why we feel obliged to protest categorically against such views and to warn all comrades of the danger of Russian Social-Democracy being diverted from the path it has already chosen for itself, *viz.*, the formation of an independent political workers' party which shall be inseparable from the class struggle of the proletariat, and which shall have for its immediate aim the winning of political liberty.

The above-quoted *Credo* represents, firstly, "a brief description of the process of development of the labour movement in the West," and, secondly, "conclusions to be drawn for Russia."

First of all, the conception of the history of the West European labour movement presented by the authors of the *Credo* is entirely wrong. It is not true to say that the working class in the West did not take part in the struggle for political liberty and in political revolutions. The history of the Chartist movement and the revolutions of 1848 in France, Germany and Austria prove the opposite. It is absolutely untrue to say that "Marxism was the theoretical expression of the prevailing practice: of the political struggle which prevailed over the economic struggle." On the contrary, "Marxism" appeared when

non-political socialism prevailed ("Owenism," "Fourierism," "true socialism") and the *Communist Manifesto* took up the cudgels at once against non-political socialism. Even when Marxism came out fully armed with theory (*Capital*) and organized the celebrated International Workingmen's Association, the political struggle was by no means the prevailing practice (narrow trade unionism in England, anarchism and Proudhonism in the Latin countries). The great historic service performed by Lassalle in Germany lay in the fact that he transformed the working class from a tail of the liberal bourgeoisie into an independent political party. Marxism linked up the economic and the political struggles of the working class into a single inseparable whole; and the efforts of the authors of the *Credo* to separate these two forms of struggle represent their most clumsy and deplorable departure from Marxism.

Furthermore, the authors of the *Credo* are utterly wrong in respect to the present state of the West European labour movement and to the theory of Marxism, under the banner of which that movement is marching. To talk about the "crisis of Marxism" is merely to repeat the nonsense of the bourgeois hacks who are doing all they can to exaggerate every disagreement among the Socialists and represent it as a split in the Socialist parties. The notorious Bernsteinism—in the sense in which it is understood by the general public, and by the authors of the *Credo* in particular—is an attempt to narrow the theory of Marxism, an attempt to convert the revolutionary workers' party into a reformist party; and, as was to be expected, this attempt has been strongly condemned by the majority of the German Social-Democrats. Opportunist trends have more than once revealed themselves in the ranks of German Social Democracy, and on every occasion they have been repudiated by the Party, which loyally guards the principles of revolutionary international Social-Democracy. We are convinced that every attempt to transplant opportunist views to Russia will encounter an equally determined resistance on the part of the great majority of Russian Social-Democrats.

Similarly, there can be no suggestion of a "radical change in the practical activity" of the West European workers' parties, in spite of what the authors of the *Credo* say: the tremendous

importance of the economic struggle of the proletariat, and the necessity for such a struggle, was recognized by Marxism⁷ from the very outset; and even in the 'forties Marx and Engels opposed the utopian Socialists who denied the importance of this struggle.

When the International Workingmen's Association was formed about twenty years later, the question of the importance of trade unions and of the economic struggle was raised at its very first Congress, at Geneva in 1866. The resolution adopted at that Congress spoke explicitly of the importance of the economic struggle and warned the Socialists and the workers, on the one hand against exaggerating the importance of this struggle (which the English workers were inclined to do at that time) and, on the other, against underestimating its importance (which the French and the Germans, particularly the Lassalleans, were inclined to do). The resolution acknowledged that the trade unions were not only a natural, but also an essential phenomenon under capitalism and saw in them an extremely important means of organizing the working class for its daily struggle against capital and for the abolition of wage labour. The resolution declared that the trade unions must not devote attention exclusively to the "immediate struggle against capital," must not remain aloof to the general political and social movement of the working class; they must not pursue "narrow" aims but must strive for the complete emancipation of the vast masses of the oppressed labourers. Since that time, the workers' parties in the various countries have more than once discussed the question and, of course, will discuss it again and again, as to whether to devote more or less attention at the given moment to the economic or the political struggle of the proletariat; but, the general question, or the question in principle, stands today as it was presented by Marxism. The conviction that the class struggle must necessarily combine the political and the economic struggle has become part of the flesh and blood of international Social-Democracy. The experience of history has, further, incontrovertibly proved that the absence of liberty, or the restriction of the political rights of the proletariat, always leads to the necessity of putting the political struggle in the forefront.

Still less can there be any suggestion of any serious change in the attitude of the workers' party towards the other opposition parties. In this respect, too, Marxism has mapped out the correct line, which is equally remote from exaggerating the importance of politics, from conspiracies (Blanquism, etc.) and from decrying politics or reducing it to opportunist reformist patching up of the social system (anarchism, utopian and petty-bourgeois socialism, state socialism, professorial socialism, etc.). The proletariat must strive to form independent political workers' parties, the main aim of which must be the capture of political power by the proletariat for the purpose of organizing Socialist society. The proletariat must not regard the other classes and parties as a "single reactionary mass"; on the contrary, it must take part in the whole of political and social life, support the progressive classes and parties against the reactionary classes and parties, support every revolutionary movement against the present system, champion the interests of every oppressed nation or race, of every persecuted religion, disfranchised sex, etc. The arguments the authors of the *Credo* advance on this subject merely reveal a desire to obscure the class character of the struggle of the proletariat, a desire to weaken this struggle by a senseless "recognition of society" to reduce revolutionary Marxism to a trivial reformist trend. We are convinced that the overwhelming majority of Russian Social-Democrats will totally reject this distortion of the fundamental principles of Social-Democracy. Their incorrect premises regarding the West European labour movement led the authors of the *Credo* to draw still more erroneous "conclusions for Russia."

The assertion that the Russian working class "has not yet put forward political tasks" simply reveals ignorance of the Russian revolutionary movement. Even the Northern Russian Workers' Union formed in 1878 and the South Russian Workers' Union formed in 1879 put forward the demand for political liberty in their program. After the reaction of the 'eighties, the working class repeatedly put forward the same demand in the 'nineties. The assertion that "the talk about an independent workers' political party is nothing but the product of an attempt to transplant alien tasks and alien results to our soil"

reveals a complete failure to understand the historical role of the Russian working class and the most vital tasks of Russian Social-Democracy. Apparently, the program of the authors of the *Credo* inclines to the idea that the working class, "following the line of least resistance," should confine itself to the economic struggle while the "liberal opposition elements" fight for "constitutional forms" with the "participation" of the Marxists. The application of such a program would be tantamount to political suicide for Russian Social-Democracy, tantamount to greatly retarding and restricting the Russian labour movement and the Russian revolutionary movement (for us the two latter terms are synonymous). The mere fact that it was possible for a program like this to appear shows how well grounded were the fears expressed by one of the foremost champions of Russian Social-Democracy, P. B. Axelrod, when, at the end of 1897, he wrote of the possibility of such a prospect:

"The labour movement keeps to the narrow rut of purely economic conflicts between the workers and employers and, in itself, taken as a whole, is not of a political character, while in the struggle for political liberty the advanced strata of the proletariat follow the revolutionary circles and factions of the so-called intelligentsia." (Axelrod, *The Present Tasks and Tactics of the Russian Social-Democrats*, Geneva, 1898, p. 19.)

Russian Social-Democrats must declare a determined war against the whole body of ideas expressed in the *Credo*, for these ideas lead straight to the translation of this prospect into reality. Russian Social-Democrats must bend every effort to translate into reality another prospect, depicted by P. B. Axelrod in the following words:

"The other prospect: Social-Democracy will organize the Russian proletariat in an independent political party which will fight for liberty, *partly, side by side and in alliance with the bourgeois revolutionary factions (if such exist), and partly by recruiting directly into its ranks or securing the following of the most democratic and revolutionary elements of the intelligentsia.*" (*Ibid.*, p. 20.) *

At the time P. B. Axelrod wrote the above lines the declarations made by Social-Democrats in Russia showed clearly that the overwhelming majority of them adhered to the same point of view. It is true that one St. Petersburg workers' paper,

Rabochaya Mysl [Workers' Thought] seemed to incline toward the ideas of the authors of the *Credo* and in the leading article on its program (in issue No. 1, Oct. 1897) it, regrettably, expressed the utterly erroneous idea, which runs counter to Social-Democracy, that the "economic basis of the movement" may be "obscured by the effort constantly to keep in mind political ideals." At the same time, however, another St. Petersburg workers' newspaper, the *St. Peterburgski Rabochy Listok* [St. Petersburg Workers' Paper] (No. 2, Sept. 1897) emphatically expressed the opinion that "the overthrow of the autocracy . . . can be achieved only by a well organized and numerically strong workers' party" and that "organized in a strong party" the workers will "emancipate themselves, and the whole of Russia, from all political and economic oppression." A third newspaper, the *Rabochaya Gazeta* [Workers' Gazette], in its leading article in issue No. 2 (Nov. 1897), wrote: "The fight against the autocratic government for political liberty is the immediate task of the Russian labour movement." "The Russian labour movement will increase its forces tenfold if it comes out as a single, harmonious whole, with a common name and a well-knit organization. . . ." "The separate workers' circles should combine into a single, common party." "The Russian workers' party will be a Social-Democratic Party." That the overwhelming majority of Russian Social-Democrats fully share the views expressed by *Rabochaya Gazeta* is seen from the fact that the Congress of Russian Social-Democrats which was held in the spring of 1898 formed the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, published its Manifesto and recognized the *Rabochaya Gazeta* as the official organ of the Party. Thus, the authors of the *Credo* are retreating an enormous distance from the stage of development which Russian Social-Democracy has already achieved and recorded in the *Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party*. If, as the result of desperate persecution by the Russian government, the activities of the Party have at the present time temporarily subsided and its official organ is no longer appearing, the task of all Social-Democrats is to exert every effort finally to consolidate the Party, to draw up the Party program and to revive its official organ. In view of the wavering of opinion evidenced by the

fact that programs like the above-examined *Credo* can appear, we think it particularly necessary to emphasize the following fundamental principles that were expounded in the *Manifesto* and which are of enormous importance for Russian Social-Democracy. First: Russian Social-Democracy "desires to be and remain the class movement of the organized masses of workers." Hence it follows that the motto of Social-Democracy must be to help the workers not only in their economic, but also in their political struggle; to carry on agitation not only in connection with immediate economic needs, but also in connection with all manifestations of political oppression; to carry on propaganda not only of the ideas of scientific Socialism, but also of the ideas of democracy. The only banner the class movement of the workers can have is the theory of revolutionary Marxism, and Russian Social-Democracy must see that it is further developed and put into practice, and at the same time protect it against those distortions and vulgarizations to which "fashionable theories" are often subjected (and the successes of revolutionary Social-Democracy in Russia have already made Marxism a "fashionable" theory). While concentrating all its efforts at the present time on activity among factory workers and mine workers, Social-Democrats must not forget that with the expansion of the movement they must also recruit into the ranks of the masses of the workers they organize the home workers, artisans, agricultural labourers and the millions of ruined and starving peasants.

Second: "On his strong shoulders the Russian worker must and will carry to a head the cause of winning political liberty." Since the immediate task it sets itself is to overthrow absolutism, Social-Democracy must act as the vanguard in the fight for democracy, and consequently, if for no other reason, must give every support to all the democratic elements of the population of Russia and win them as allies. Only an independent workers' party can serve as a firm bulwark in the fight against the autocracy, and only in alliance with such a party, only by supporting it, can all the other fighters for political liberty display their activities.

Third and last: "As a Socialist movement and Socialist trend, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party carries on

the cause and traditions of the whole of the preceding revolutionary movement in Russia: considering the task of winning political liberty the most important of the immediate tasks of the Party as a whole, Social-Democracy is marching towards the goal that was clearly mapped out long ago by the glorious representatives of the old *Narodnaya Volya*." The traditions of the whole preceding revolutionary movement demand that the Social-Democrats shall at the present time concentrate their efforts on the organization of the Party, on strengthening its internal discipline, and on developing the technique of secrecy. If the representatives of the old "Narodnaya Volya" managed to play an enormous role in the history of Russia in spite of the fact that only narrow social strata supported the few heroes, and in spite of the fact that it was by no means a revolutionary theory that served as the banner of the movement, Social-Democracy, relying on the class struggle of the proletariat, will succeed in becoming invincible. "The Russian proletariat will throw off the yoke of autocracy in order, with still greater energy, to continue the struggle against capital and the bourgeoisie for the complete victory of Socialism."

We invite all groups of Social-Democrats and all workers' circles in Russia to discuss the above-quoted *Credo* and our resolution, and to express a definite opinion on the question raised, in order that all differences may be removed and in order that the work of organizing and strengthening the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party may be accelerated.

Groups and circles may send their resolutions to the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad which, on the basis of point 10 of the decision of the Congress of Russian Social-Democrats held in 1898, is a part of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and its representative abroad. ✓

August-September 1899

OUR PROGRAM

International Social-Democracy is at present in a state of mental wavering. Hitherto the doctrines of Marx and Engels were considered to be the firm foundation of revolutionary theory, but voices are now being raised on all hands declaring that these doctrines are inadequate and obsolete. Whoever declares himself to be a Social-Democrat and intends to publish a Social-Democratic organ must precisely define his attitude to a question which is by no means agitating the German Social-Democrats alone.

We stand wholly on the basis of the theory of Marx: this theory was the first to transform Socialism from a utopia into a science, to lay down a firm foundation for this science and to indicate the path that must be followed in further developing this science and elaborating it in all its parts. It exposed the nature of modern capitalist economy by explaining how the hire of the labourer, the purchase of labour power, masks the enslavement of millions of propertyless people by a handful of capitalists, the owners of the land, factories, mines and so forth. It showed how the whole development of modern capitalism tends toward the ousting of small-scale production by large-scale production and creates the conditions which render a Socialist order of society possible and necessary. It taught us how, beneath the surface of rooted customs, political intrigues, abstruse laws and intricate doctrines, to discern the *class struggle*, the struggle between all species of propertied classes and the propertyless mass, the *proletariat*, which stands at the head of all the propertyless. It made clear the real task of a revolutionary Socialist party: not to invent plans for the refashioning of society, not to preach sermons to the capitalists and their

hangers-on about improving the lot of the workers, not to hatch conspiracies, *but to organize the class struggle of the proletariat and to lead this struggle, the ultimate aim of which is the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the organization of a Socialist society.*

And we now ask: Has anything new been introduced into this theory by its loud-voiced "renovators" who have raised so much noise in our day and have grouped themselves around the German Socialist Bernstein? *Absolutely nothing.* They have not advanced one single step the science which Marx and Engels enjoined us to develop; they have not taught the proletariat any new methods of struggle; they have only retreated, borrowing fragments of backward theories and preaching to the proletariat not the theory of struggle but the theory of cession, cession to the most vicious enemies of the proletariat—the governments and bourgeois parties—who never cease to seek for new means of baiting the Socialists. Plekhanov, one of the founders and leaders of Russian Social-Democracy, was absolutely right in mercilessly criticizing the latest "criticism" by Bernstein, whose views have now been rejected by the representatives of the German workers as well (at the Hanover Congress).

We know that a flood of accusations will be showered on us for these words; they will cry that we want to convert the Socialist Party into an order of "true believers" which persecutes "heretics" for deviations from "dogma," for every independent opinion, and so forth. We are acquainted with all these fashionable and trenchant phrases. Only there is not a grain of truth or sense in them. There cannot be a strong Socialist Party without a revolutionary theory which unites all Socialists, from which they draw all their convictions, and which they apply in their methods of struggle and means of action. To defend such a theory, which to the best of your knowledge you consider to be true, against unfounded attacks and attempts to vitiate it, does not imply that you are an enemy of *all* criticism. We do not regard Marx's theory as something final and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstones of the science which Socialists *must* advance in all directions if they do not want to lag behind

the march of life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of Marx's theory is especially necessary for Russian Socialists, since this theory provides only general *guiding* principles which, in *particular*, are to be applied differently to England than to France, differently to France than to Germany, differently to Germany than to Russia. We shall therefore gladly afford space in our paper for articles on theoretical questions and we invite all comrades openly to discuss controversial points.

What are the main questions which arise in applying the program common to all Social-Democrats to Russia? We have already said that the essence of this program consists in the organization of the class struggle of the proletariat and in leading this struggle, the ultimate aim of which is the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the organization of a Socialist society. The class struggle of the proletariat falls into an economic struggle (a struggle against individual capitalists or against individual groups of capitalists for the improvement of the condition of the workers), and a political struggle (a struggle against the government for the extension of the rights of the people, *i.e.*, for democracy, and for the expansion of the political power of the proletariat). Some Russian Social-Democrats (among them apparently those who run the *Rabochaya Mysl*) regard the economic struggle as incomparably more important and almost go so far as to relegate the political struggle to a more or less distant future. This standpoint is absolutely wrong. All Social-Democrats are agreed that it is necessary to organize the economic struggle of the working class, that it is necessary, on this basis, to carry on agitation among the workers, *i.e.*, to help the workers in their day-to-day struggle against the employers, to draw their attention to every form and every case of oppression and in this way to make clear to them the necessity of unity. But to forget the political for the economic struggle would mean digressing from the basic principle of international Social-Democracy, would mean forgetting what the entire history of the labour movement teaches us. The confirmed adherents of the bourgeoisie and the government which serves it, have made repeated attempts even to organize purely economic unions of workers and to divert them in this way from "politics," from Socialism. It is quite possible that

the Russian government, too, will succeed in undertaking something of the kind, as it has always endeavoured to throw some paltry sops or, rather, sham grants to the people, only to turn their thoughts away from the fact that they are oppressed and are without rights. No economic struggle can give the workers a substantial improvement, it cannot, even, be conducted on a large scale unless the workers have the right freely to organize meetings, unions, have their own newspapers and send their representatives to the national assemblies, as do the workers in Germany and all the other European countries (with the exception of Turkey and Russia). But in order to win these rights it is necessary to wage a *political struggle*. In Russia, not only the workers, but all citizens are deprived of political rights. Russia is an absolute monarchy, unrestricted by any limitations. The tsar alone promulgates laws, appoints officials and controls them. For this reason, *it seems* as though in Russia the tsar and the tsarist government are independent of any classes and accord equal treatment to all. In *reality*, however, all the officials are chosen exclusively from the possessing class and all are subject to the influence of the large capitalists who make the ministers dance to their tune and achieve whatever they want. The Russian working class is burdened by a double yoke; it is robbed and plundered by the capitalists and the landowners, and to prevent it from fighting it is bound hand and foot by the police, it is gagged and every attempt to defend the rights of the people is followed by persecution. Every strike against a capitalist results in the military and police being let loose on the workers. Every economic struggle of necessity turns into a political struggle, and Social-Democracy must indissolubly combine the one with the other into a *single class struggle of the proletariat*. The first and the chief aim of such a struggle must be the conquest of political rights, *the conquest of political liberty*. If the workers of St. Petersburg alone, with the scant support of the Socialists, have rapidly succeeded in wringing concessions from the government—the passing of a law reducing the working day—the Russian working class as a whole, led by a united “Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party” will be able, by waging a per-

sistent struggle, in wringing incomparably more important concessions.

The Russian working class will succeed in waging its economic and political struggle alone, even if no other class comes to its support. The workers, however, do not stand alone in the political struggle. The complete disfranchisement of the people and the arbitrary misrule of the bashi-bazouk officials rouses the indignation of all who have any pretensions to honesty and education, who cannot reconcile themselves with the persecution of all free speech and all free thought, it rouses the indignation of the persecuted Poles, Finns, Jews, Russian sects, it rouses the indignation of the small merchants, of the manufacturers, the peasants, of all who can nowhere find protection from the persecution of the officials and the police. All these groups of the population are incapable, separately, of carrying on a persistent political struggle, but when the working class raises aloft the banner of this struggle, it will be supported on all sides. Russian Social-Democracy will place itself at the head of all the fighters for the rights of the people, of all the fighters for democracy, and then it will be invincible.

These are our fundamental views which we shall develop systematically and from every aspect in our paper. We are convinced that in this way we shall tread the path which has been indicated by the "Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" in the "Manifesto" it published.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

BURNING QUESTIONS OF OUR MOVEMENT

(Excerpt)

I DOGMATISM AND "FREEDOM OF CRITICISM"

A WHAT IS "FREEDOM OF CRITICISM"?

"Freedom of criticism," this undoubtedly is the most fashionable slogan at the present time, and the one most frequently employed in the controversies between the Socialists and democrats of all countries. At first sight, nothing would appear to be more strange than the solemn appeals by one of the parties to the dispute for freedom of criticism. Have voices been raised in some of the advanced parties against the constitutional law of the majority of European countries which guarantees freedom to science and scientific investigation? "Something must be wrong here," an onlooker, who has not yet fully appreciated the nature of the disagreements among the controversialists, will say when he hears this fashionable slogan repeated at every cross-road. "Evidently this slogan is one of the conventional phrases which, like a nickname, becomes legitimized by use, and becomes almost an appellative," he will conclude.

In fact, it is no secret that two separate tendencies have been formed in present-day international Social-Democracy¹

¹ Incidentally, this perhaps is the only occasion in the history of modern Socialism in which controversies between various tendencies within the Socialist movement have grown from national into international controversies, and this is extremely encouraging. Formerly, the disputes

The fight between these tendencies now flares up in a bright flame, and now dies down and smoulders under the ashes of imposing "resolutions for an armistice." What this "new" tendency, which adopts a "critical" attitude towards "obsolete doctrinaire" Marxism, represents has been *stated* with sufficient precision by Bernstein, and *demonstrated* by Millerand.¹

Social-Democracy must change from a party of the social revolution into a democratic party of social reforms. Bernstein has surrounded this political demand with a whole battery of symmetrically arranged "new" arguments and reasonings. The possibility of putting Socialism on a scientific basis and of proving that it is necessary and inevitable from the point of view of the materialist conception of history was denied, as also were the facts of growing impoverishment and proletarianization and the intensification of capitalist contradictions. The very conception, "*ultimate aim*," was declared to be unsound, and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was absolutely rejected. It was denied that there is any difference in principle between liberalism and Socialism. *The theory of the class struggle* was rejected on the grounds that it could not be applied to a strictly democratic society, governed according to the will of the majority, etc.

Thus, the demand for a definite change from revolutionary Social-Democracy to bourgeois social-reformism was accompanied by a no less definite turn towards bourgeois criticism

between the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers, between the Guesdites and the Possibilists, between the Fabians and the Social-Democrats, and between the "Narodnaya Volya"-ites and Social-Democrats, remained purely national disputes, reflected purely national features and proceeded, as it were, on different planes. At the present time (this is quite evident now), the English Fabians, the French Ministerialists, the German Bernsteinites and the Russian "critics" [*i.e.*, the critics of Marxism. The reference is to Struve, Bulgakov, Tugan Baranovsky and others who attacked revolutionary Marxism in the legal publications of the 'nineties.—*Ed.*]¹—all belong to the same family, all extol each other, learn from each other, and are rallying their forces against "doctrinaire" Marxism. Perhaps in this first really international battle with Socialist opportunism, international revolutionary Social Democracy will become sufficiently strengthened to put an end to the political reaction that has long reigned in Europe.

¹ The reference is to the French "Socialist" A. Millerand entering the Waldeck-Rousseau (1899) reactionary bourgeois government.—*Ed.*

of all the fundamental ideas of Marxism. As this criticism of Marxism has been going on for a long time now, from the political platform, from university chairs, in numerous pamphlets and in a number of scientific works, as the younger generation of the educated classes has been systematically trained for decades on this criticism, it is not surprising that the "new, critical" tendency in Social-Democracy should spring up, all complete, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. The content of this new tendency did not have to grow and develop, it was transferred bodily from bourgeois literature to Socialist literature.

To proceed. If Bernstein's theoretical criticism and political yearnings are still obscure to anyone, the French have taken the trouble to demonstrate the "new method." In this instance, also, France has justified its old reputation as the country in which "more than anywhere else, the historical class struggles were each time fought out to a decision . . ." (Engels, in his introduction to Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire*.) The French Socialists have begun, not to theorize, but to act. The more developed democratic political conditions in France have permitted them to put "Bernsteinism into practice" immediately, with all its consequences. Millerand has provided an excellent example of practical Bernsteinism; not without reason did Bernstein and Vollmar rush so zealously to defend and praise him! Indeed, if Social-Democracy, in essence, is merely a reformist party, and must be bold enough to admit this openly, then not only has a Socialist the right to join a bourgeois cabinet, it is even his duty always to strive to do so. If democracy, in essence, means the abolition of class domination, then why should not a Socialist minister charm the whole bourgeois world by orations on class collaboration? Why should he not remain in the cabinet even after the shooting down of workers by gendarmes has exposed, for the hundredth and thousandth time, the real nature of the democratic co-operation of classes? . . . And the reward for this utter humiliation and self-degradation of Socialism in the face of the whole world, for the corruption of the Socialist consciousness of the working class—the only basis that can guarantee our victory—the reward for this is imposing *plans* for niggardly reforms, so nig-

gantly in fact that much more has been obtained from bourgeois governments!

He who does not deliberately close his eyes cannot fail to see that the new "critical" tendency in Socialism is nothing more nor less than a new species of *opportunism*. And if we judge people not by the brilliant uniforms they deck themselves in, not by the imposing appellations they give themselves, but by their actions, and by what they actually advocate, it will be clear that "freedom of criticism" means freedom for an opportunistic tendency in Social-Democracy, the freedom to convert Social-Democracy into a democratic reformist party, the freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into Socialism.

"Freedom" is a grand word, but under the banner of free trade the most predatory wars were conducted, under the banner of free labour, the toilets were robbed. The modern use of the term "freedom of criticism" contains the same inherent falsehood. Those who are really convinced that they have advanced science would demand, not freedom for the new views to continue side by side with the old, but the substitution of the new views for the old. The cry "Long live freedom of criticism," that is heard today, too strongly calls to mind the fable of the empty barrel.

We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and are under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several among us begin to cry out: let us go into this marsh! And when we begin to shame them, they retort: how conservative you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the right to invite you to take a better road? Oh, yes gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only

let go of our hands, don't clutch at us and don't besmirch the grand word "freedom"; for we too are "free" to go where we please, free not only to fight against the marsh, but also against those who are turning towards the marsh.

D ENGELS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THEORETICAL STRUGGLE

"Dogmatism, doctrinairism," "ossification of the Party—the inevitable retribution that follows the violent strait-lacing of thought"—these are the enemies which the knightly champions of "freedom of criticism" rise up in arms against in *Rabocheye Dyelo*. We are very glad that this question has been brought up and we would only propose to add to it another question: Who are the judges?

Before us lie two publisher's announcements. One, *The Program of the Periodical Organ of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats—Rabocheye Dyelo* (reprint from No 1 of *Rabocheye Dyelo*), and the other an announcement of the resumption of the publications of the "Emancipation of Labour Group." Both are dated 1899, a time when the "crisis of Marxism" had long since been under discussion. And what do we find? You would seek in vain in the first publication for any reference to this phenomenon, or a definite statement of the position the new organ intends to adopt on this question. Of theoretical work and the urgent tasks that now confront it not a word is said either in this program or in the supplements to it that were passed by the Third Congress of the Union in 1901 (*Two Congresses*, pp. 15-18). During the whole of this time the editorial board of *Rabocheye Dyelo* ignored theoretical questions, in spite of the fact that these questions were agitating the minds of all Social-Democrats all over the world.

The other announcement, on the contrary, first of all points to the diminution of interest in theory observed in recent years, imperatively demands "vigilant attention to the theoretical side of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat," and calls for "ruthless criticism of the Bernsteinian and other anti-revolutionary tendencies" in our movement. The issues of *Zarya* that have appeared show how this program has been carried out.

Thus we see that high-sounding phrases against the ossification of thought, etc., conceal unconcern and impotence in the development of theoretical thought. The case of the Russian Social-Democrats very strikingly illustrates the fact observed in the whole of Europe (and long ago noted also by the German Marxists) that the notorious freedom of criticism does not imply the substitution of one theory for another, but freedom from every complete and consistent theory; it implies eclecticism and lack of principle. Those who have the slightest acquaintance with the actual state of our movement cannot but see that the wide spread of Marxism was accompanied by a certain lowering of the theoretical level. Quite a number of people with very little, and even a total lack of theoretical training joined the movement because of its practical significance and its practical successes. We can therefore judge how tactless *Rabocheye Dyelo* is when, with an air of triumph, it quotes Marx's statement: "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs." To repeat these words in a period of theoretical chaos is like wishing mourners at a funeral "many happy returns of the day." Moreover, these words of Marx are taken from his letter on the Gotha Program, in which he *sharply condemns* eclecticism in the formulation of principles: if you must unite, Marx wrote to the Party leaders, then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not haggle over principles, do not make "concessions" in theory. This was Marx's idea, and yet there are people among us who strive—in his name!—to belittle the significance of theory.

Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This thought cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an insatiation for the narrowest forms of practical activity. Yet, for Russian Social-Democrats the importance of theory is enhanced by three circumstances, which are often forgotten: firstly, by the fact that our Party is only in process of formation, its features are only just becoming outlined, and it is yet far from having settled accounts with other trends of revolutionary thought, which threaten to divert the movement from the proper path. On the contrary, we only very recently observed a revival of non-Social-Democratic rev-

olutionary trends (which Axelrod long ago warned the Economists would happen). Under such circumstances, what at first sight appears to be an "unimportant" mistake may lead to most deplorable consequences, and only short-sighted people can consider factional disputes and a strict differentiation between shades inopportune and superfluous. The fate of Russian Social-Democracy for many many years to come may depend on the strengthening of one or other "shade."

Secondly, the Social-Democratic movement is essentially international. This does not merely mean that we must combat national chauvinism, but also that a movement that is starting in a young country can be successful only if it assimilates the experience of other countries. And in order to assimilate this experience, it is not enough merely to be acquainted with it, or simply to transcribe the latest resolutions. This requires the ability to treat this experience critically and to test it independently. Anybody who realizes how enormously the modern labour movement has grown and become ramified will understand what an amount of theoretical force and political (as well as revolutionary) experience is needed to fulfil this task.

Thirdly, the national tasks of Russian Social-Democracy are such as have never confronted any other Socialist Party in the world. Further on we shall have occasion to deal with the political and organizational duties which the task of emancipating the whole people from the yoke of autocracy imposes upon us. At the moment, we only wish to state that *the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory*. In order to understand what this means at all concretely, let the reader recall predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy like Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and the brilliant galaxy of revolutionaries of the 'seventies; let him ponder over the world significance which Russian literature is now acquiring, let him . . . but that is enough!

Let us quote what Engels said in 1874 concerning the significance of theory in the Social-Democratic movement. Engels recognizes *not two* forms of the great struggle of Social-Democracy (political and economic), as is the fashion among us, *but three, adding to the first two the theoretical struggle*. His recommendations to the German labour movement, which had

become strong, practically and politically, are so instructive from the standpoint of present-day problems and controversies, that we hope the reader will not be vexed with us for quoting a long passage from his prefatory note to *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*,¹ which has long become a bibliographical rarity.

"The German workers have two important advantages over those of the rest of Europe. First, they belong to the most theoretical people of Europe; they have retained that sense of theory which the so-called 'educated' people of Germany have almost completely lost. Without German philosophy which preceded it, particularly that of Hegel, German scientific Socialism—the only scientific Socialism that has ever existed—would never have come into being. Without a sense of theory among the workers, this scientific Socialism would never have passed so entirely into fair flesh and blood as has been the case. What an immeasurable advantage this is may be seen, on the one hand, from the indifference towards all theory, which is one of the main reasons why the English labour movement moves so slowly in spite of the splendid organization of the individual unions; on the other hand, from the mischief and confusion wrought by Proudhonism in its original form among the French and Belgians, and in the further caricatured form at the hands of Bakunin, among the Spaniards and Italians.

"The second advantage is that chronologically speaking the Germans were almost the last to come into the labour movement. Just as German theoretical Socialism will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen, three men who, in spite of all their fantastic notions and utopianism, have their place among the most eminent thinkers of all times, and whose genius anticipated innumerable things the correctness of which is now being scientifically proved by us—so the practical labour movement in Germany must never forget that it has developed on the shoulders of the English and French movements, that it was able simply to utilize their dearly bought experience, and could now avoid their mistakes, which in their time were mostly unavoidable. Without the English trade unions and the French workers' political struggles which came before, without the gigantic impulse given especially by the Paris Commune, where would we now be?

"It must be said to the credit of the German workers that they have exploited the advantages of their situation with rare understanding. For the first time since a labour movement has existed the struggle is being conducted from its three sides, the theoretical, the political and the practical economic (resistance to the capitalists), in harmony, co-ordination and in a planned way. It is precisely in this, as it were, concentric attack, that the strength and invincibility of the German movement lies.

¹ *Dritter Abdruck* Leipzig 1875. *Verlag der Genossenschaftsbuchdruckerei.* (*The Peasant War in Germany.* Third edition. Co-operative Publishers, Leipzig, 1875.—Ed.)

"It is due to this advantageous situation on the one hand, to the insular peculiarities of the English and to the forcible suppression of the French movement on the other, that the German workers have for the moment been placed in the vanguard of the proletarian struggle. How long events will allow them to occupy this post of honour cannot be foretold. But as long as they occupy it, let us hope that they will fill it in a fitting manner. This demands redoubled efforts in every field of struggle and agitation. It is in particular the duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly to keep in mind that Socialism, since it has become a science, must be pursued as a science, *i. e.*, it must be studied. The task will be to spread with increased zeal among the masses of the workers the ever clearer insight, thus acquired, to knit together ever more firmly the organization both of the party and of the trade unions.... If the German workers proceed in this way, they will not be marching exactly at the head of the movement it is not at all in the interest of this movement that the workers of any one country should march at its head—but they will occupy an honourable place in the battle line and they will stand armed for battle when either unexpectedly grave trials or momentous events will demand from them heightened courage, heightened determination and the power to act."

Engels' words proved prophetic. Within a few years the German workers were subjected to unexpectedly grave trials in the form of the Anti-Socialist Law. And the German workers really met them armed for battle and succeeded in emerging from them in triumph.

The Russian proletariat will have to undergo trials immeasurably more grave; it will have to fight a monster compared with which the Anti-Socialist Law in a constitutional country seems but a pigmy. History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the *most revolutionary* of all the *immediate* tasks that confront the proletariat of any country. The fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European but also (it may now be said) of Asiatic reaction would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat. And we are right in counting upon acquiring this honourable title already earned by our predecessors, the revolutionaries of the 'seventies, if we succeed in inspiring our movement—which is a thousand times broader and deeper—with the same devoted determination and vigour.

II

THE SPONTANEITY OF THE MASSES AND THE CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

A III. BEGINNING OF THE SPONTANEOUS REVIVAL

In the previous chapter we pointed out how *universally* absorbed the educated youth of Russia was in the theories of Marxism in the middle of the 'nineties. The strikes that followed the famous St. Petersburg industrial war of 1896 assumed a similar wholesale character. The fact that these strikes spread over the whole of Russia clearly showed how deep the reviving popular movement was, and if we must speak of the "spontaneous element" then, of course, we must admit that this strike movement certainly bore a spontaneous character. But there is a difference between spontaneity and spontaneity. Strikes occurred in Russia in the 'seventies and in the 'sixties (and also in the first half of the nineteenth century), and these strikes were accompanied by the "spontaneous" destruction of machinery, etc. Compared with these "riots" the strikes of the 'nineties might even be described as "conscious," to such an extent do they mark the progress which the labour movement had made for that period. This shows that the "spontaneous element," in essence, represents nothing more nor less than consciousness in an *embryonic form*. Even the primitive riots expressed the awakening of consciousness to a certain extent: the workers abandoned their age-long faith in the permanence of the system which oppressed them. They began . . . I shall not say to understand, but to sense the necessity for collective resistance, and definitely abandoned their slavish submission to their superiors. But all this was more in the nature of outbursts of desperation and vengeance than of *struggle*. The strikes of the 'nineties revealed far greater flashes of consciousness: definite demands were put forward, the time to strike was carefully chosen, known cases and examples in other places were discussed, etc. While the riots were simply uprisings of the oppressed, the systematic strikes represented the class struggle in embryo, but only in embryo. Taken by themselves,

these strikes were simply trade union struggles, but not yet Social-Democratic struggles. They testified to the awakening antagonisms between workers and employers, but the workers were not and could not be conscious of the irreconcilable antagonism of their interests to the whole of the modern political and social system, *i. e.*, it was not yet Social-Democratic consciousness. In this sense, the strikes of the 'nineties, in spite of the enormous progress they represented as compared with the "riots," represented a purely spontaneous movement

We said that *there could not yet be* Social-Democratic consciousness among the workers. This consciousness could only be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, *i. e.*, it may itself realize the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc.¹ The theory of Socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. Similarly, in Russia, the theoretical doctrine of Social-Democracy arose quite independently of the spontaneous growth of the labour movement; it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary Socialist intelligentsia. At the time of which we are speaking, *i. e.*, the middle of the 'nineties, this doctrine not only represented the completely formulated program of the "Emancipation of Labour Group," but had already won the adherence of the majority of the revolutionary youth in Russia.

Hence, simultaneously, we had both the spontaneous awakening of the masses of the workers, the awakening to con-

¹ Trade unionism does not exclude "politics" altogether, as some imagine. Trade unions have always conducted political (but not Social-Democratic) agitation and struggle. We shall deal with the difference between trade union politics and Social-Democratic politics in the next chapter

scious life and struggle, and the striving of the revolutionary youth, armed with the Social-Democratic theories, to reach the workers. In this connection it is particularly important to state the oft-forgotten (and comparatively little-known) fact that the *early* Social-Democrats of that period *zealously carried on economic agitation* (being guided in this by the really useful instructions contained in the pamphlet *On Agitation* that was still in manuscript), but they did not regard this as their sole task. On the contrary, *right from the very beginning* they advanced in general the historical tasks of Russian Social-Democracy in their widest scope, and particularly the task of overthrowing the autocracy. For example, towards the end of 1895, the St. Petersburg group of Social-Democrats, which founded the "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class,"¹ prepared the first number of the newspaper called *Rabocheye Dyelo*. This number was ready to go to press when it was seized by the gendarmes who, on the night of December 8, 1895, raided the house of one of the members of the group, Anatole Alexeyevich Vaneyev,² and so the original *Rabocheye Dyelo* was not destined to see the light of day. The leading article in this number (which perhaps in thirty years' time some *Russkaya Starina* [*Russian Antiquity*] will unearth in the archives of the Department of Police) described the historical tasks of the working class in Russia, of which the achievement of political liberty is regarded as the most important. This number also contained an article entitled "What Are Our Cabinet Ministers Thinking Of?" which dealt with the breaking up of the elementary education committees by the police. In addition, there was some correspondence from St. Petersburg, as well as from other parts of Russia (for ex-

¹ *The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class* was founded by Lenin in 1895, in St. Petersburg. The St. Petersburg League united all the Marxist workers' circles into a single, centralized organization and paved the way for the founding of a revolutionary proletarian party in Russia - Ed

² A. A. Vaneyev died in Eastern Siberia in 1899 from consumption which he contracted as a result of his solitary confinement in prison prior to his banishment. That is why we are able to publish the above information, the authenticity of which we guarantee, for it comes from persons who were closely and directly acquainted with A. A. Vaneyev

ample, a letter on the assault on the workers in the Yaroslavl Province) This, if we are not mistaken, "first attempt" of the Russian Social-Democrats of the 'nineties was not a narrow, local, and certainly not an "economic" newspaper, but one that aimed to unite the strike movement with the revolutionary movement against the autocracy, and to win all the victims of oppression and political and reactionary obscurantism over to the side of Social-Democracy. No one in the slightest degree acquainted with the state of the movement at that period could doubt that such a paper would have been fully approved of by the workers of the capital and the revolutionary intelligentsia and would have had a wide circulation. The failure of the enterprise merely showed that the Social-Democrats of that time were unable to meet the immediate requirements of the time owing to their lack of revolutionary experience and practical training. The same thing must be said with regard to the *St. Petersburg Rabochy Listok* and particularly with regard to *Rabochaya Gazeta* and the *Manifesto* of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party which was established in the spring of 1898. Of course, we would not dream of blaming the Social-Democrats of that time for this unpreparedness. But in order to obtain the benefit of the experience of that movement, and to draw practical lessons from it, we must thoroughly understand the causes and significance of this or that shortcoming. For that reason it is extremely important to establish the fact that part (perhaps even a majority) of the Social-Democrats, operating in the period of 1895-98, quite justly considered it possible even then, at the very beginning of the "spontaneous" movement, to come forward with a most extensive program and fighting tactics.¹ The lack of training of

¹ "*Iskra*, which adopts a hostile attitude towards the activities of the Social-Democrats of the end of the 'nineties, ignores the fact that at that time the conditions for any other kind of work except fighting for petty demands were absent," declare the Economists in their *Letter to Russian Social-Democratic Organs*. (*Iskra*, No. 12.) The facts quoted above show that the statement about "absent conditions" is the very opposite of the truth. Not only at the end, but even in the middle of the 'nineties, all the conditions existed for other work, besides fighting for petty demands, all the conditions—except the sufficient training of the leaders. Instead of frankly admitting our, the ideologists—the leaders', lack of sufficient training—the "Economists" try to throw the blame entirely upon the "absent condi-

the majority of the revolutionaries, being quite a natural phenomenon, could not have aroused any particular fears. Since the tasks were properly defined, since the energy existed for repeated attempts to fulfil these tasks, the temporary failures were not such a great misfortune. Revolutionary experience and organizational skill are things that can be acquired provided the desire is there to acquire these qualities, provided the shortcomings are recognized—which in revolutionary activity is more than halfway towards removing them!

It was a great misfortune, however, when this consciousness began to grow dim (it was very active among the workers of the groups mentioned), when people appeared—and even Social-Democratic organs—who were prepared to regard shortcomings as virtues, who even tried to invent a *theoretical* basis for *slavish cringing before spontaneity*. It is time to summarize this tendency, the substance of which is incorrectly and too narrowly described as “Economism.”

B BOWING TO SPONTANEITY. *RABOCHAYA MYSL*.

Before dealing with the literary manifestation of this subservience, we should like to mention the following characteristic fact (communicated to us from the above-mentioned source), which throws some light on the circumstances in which the two future conflicting tendencies in Russian Social-Democracy arose and grew among the comrades working in St. Petersburg. In the beginning of 1897, just prior to their banishment, A. A. Vaneyev and several of his comrades¹ attended a private meeting at which the “old” and “young” members of the “League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class” gathered. The conversation centred chiefly around the

tions,” upon the influences of material environment which determine the road from which it will be impossible for any ideologist to divert the movement. What is this but slavish cringing before spontaneity, but the fact that the “ideologists” are enamoured of their own shortcomings?

¹ This refers to Lenin, Krzhizhanovsky and other members of the St. Petersburg “League of Struggle” who were released from prison on February 26, 1897 and granted a few days leave prior to being banished to Siberia. They utilized this period of grace to confer with the “young” leaders of the League who were at liberty and inclining towards “Economism.”—*Ed.*

question of organization, and particularly around the "rules for a workers' benefit fund," which, in their final form, were published in *Listok Rabotnika* (*Workingman's Sheet*), No. 9-10, p. 46. Sharp differences were immediately revealed between the "old" members ("Decembrists," as the St. Petersburg Social-Democrats jestingly called them) and several of the "young" members (who subsequently actively collaborated on the *Rabochaya Mysl*), and a very heated discussion ensued. The "young" members defended the main principles of the rules in the form in which they were published. The "old" members said that this was not what was wanted, that first of all it was necessary to consolidate the "League of Struggle" into an organization of revolutionaries which should have control of all the various workers' benefit funds, students' propaganda circles, etc. It goes without saying that the controversialists had no suspicion at that time that these disagreements were the beginning of a divergence; on the contrary, they regarded them as being of an isolated and casual nature. But this fact shows that "Economism" did not arise and spread in Russia without a fight on the part of the "old" Social-Democrats (the Economists of today are apt to forget this). And if, in the main, this struggle has not left "documentary" traces behind it it is *solely* because the membership of the circles working at that time underwent such constant change that no continuity was established and, consequently, differences were not recorded in any documents.

The appearance of *Rabochaya Mysl* brought Economism to the light of day, but not all at once. We must picture to ourselves concretely the conditions of the work and the short-lived character of the majority of the Russian circles (and only those who have experienced this can have any exact idea of it), in order to understand how much there was accidental in the successes and failures of the new tendency in various towns, and why for a long time neither the advocates nor the opponents of this "new" tendency could make up their minds—indeed they had no opportunity to do so—as to whether this was really a new tendency or whether it was merely an expression of the lack of training of certain individuals. For example, the first mimeographed copies of *Rabochaya Mysl* never reached the

great majority of Social-Democrats, and we are able to refer to the leading article in the first number only because it was reproduced in an article by V. I. (*Listok Rabotnika*, No. 9-10, p. 47 *et sup.*), who, of course, did not fail zealously but unreasonably to extol the new paper, which was so different from the papers and the schemes for papers mentioned above.¹ And this leading article deserves to be dealt with in detail because it so strongly expresses *the spirit of Rabochaya Mysl* and Economism generally.

After referring to the fact that the arm of the "blue-coats"² could never stop the progress of the labour movement, the leading article goes on to say: "...The virility of the labour movement is due to the fact that the workers themselves are at last taking their fate into their own hands, and out of the hands of the leaders," and this fundamental thesis is then developed in greater detail. As a matter of fact the leaders (*i.e.*, the Social-Democrats, the organizers of the League of Struggle) were, one might say, torn out of the hands of the workers by the police; yet it is made to appear that the workers were fighting against the leaders,³ and eventually liberated themselves from their yoke! Instead of calling upon the workers to go forward towards the consolidation of the revolutionary organization and to the expansion of political activity, they began to call for a *retreat* to the purely trade union struggle. They announced that "the economic basis of the movement is eclipsed by the effort never to forget the political idea," and that the watchword for the movement was "Fight for an economic position" [!] or what is still better, "The workers for the work-

¹ It should be stated in passing that the praise of *Rabochaya Mysl* in November 1898, when Economism had become fully defined, especially abroad, emanated from that same V. I., who very soon after became one of the editors of *Rabocheye Deyelo*. And yet *Rabocheye Deyelo* denied that there were two tendencies in Russian Social-Democracy, and continues to deny it to this day.

² The Russian gendarmes wore blue uniforms.—*Ed.*

³ That this simile is a correct one is shown by the following characteristic fact. When, after the arrest of the "Decembrists," the news was spread among the workers on the Schlüsselburg Road that the discovery and arrest were facilitated by an *agent-provocateur*, N. N. Mikhailov, a dental surgeon, who had been in contact with a group associated with the "Decembrists," they were so enraged that they decided to kill him.

ers." It was declared that strike funds "are more valuable for the movement than a hundred other organizations" (compare this statement made in October 1897 with the controversy between the "Decembrists" and the young members in the beginning of 1897), and so forth. Catchwords like, "We must concentrate not on the 'cream' of the workers, but on the 'average,' mass worker"; "Politics always obediently follows economics,"¹ etc., etc., became the fashion, and exercised an irresistible influence upon the masses of the youth who were attracted to the movement, but who, in the majority of cases, were acquainted only with legally expounded fragments of Marxism

Consciousness was completely overwhelmed by spontaneity—the spontaneity of the "Social-Democrats" who repeated Mr. V. V.'s² "ideas," the spontaneity of those workers who were carried away by the arguments that a kopek added to a ruble was worth more than Socialism and politics, and that they must "fight, knowing that they are fighting not for some future generation, but for themselves and their children." (Leading article in *Rabochaya Mysl*, No. 1.) Phrases like these have always been the favourite weapons of the West European bourgeoisie, who, while hating Socialism, strove (like the German "*Social-Politiker*" Hirsch)³ to transplant English trade unionism to their own soil and to preach to the workers that the purely trade union struggle⁴ is the struggle for themselves and for their children, and not the struggle for some kind of

¹ These quotations are taken from the leading article in the first number of *Rabochaya Mysl* already referred to. One can judge from this the degree of theoretical training possessed by these "V. V.'s of Russian Social-Democracy [The reference is to the "Economists,"—*Ed.*]," who kept repeating the crude vulgarization of "economic materialism" at a time when the Marxists were carrying on a literary war against the real V. V., who had long ago been dubbed "a past master of reactionary deeds," for holding *similar* views on the relation between politics and economics.

² The reference is to V. P. Vorontsov—one of the ideological leaders of Russian liberal Narodism of the 'nineties.—*Ed.*

³ M. Hirsch (1832-1905)—German economist and publicist, zealous opponent of Social-Democracy, founder of the so-called Hirsch-Duncker workers' unions which were built on the principle of reconciling the interests of the capitalists and the workers.—*Ed.*

⁴ The Germans even have a special expression: *Nur-Gewerkschaftler*, which means an advocate of the "pure and simple" trade union struggle.

Socialism for some future generation. And now the "V.V.'s of Russian Social-Democracy" repeat these bourgeois phrases. It is important at this point to note three circumstances which will be useful to us in our further analysis of *contemporary* differences.¹

First of all, the overwhelming of consciousness by spontaneity, to which we referred above, also took place *spontaneously*. This may sound like a pun, but, alas, it is the bitter truth. It did not take place as a result of an open struggle between two diametrically opposed points of view, in which one gained the victory over the other, it occurred because an increasing number of "old" revolutionaries were "torn away" by the gendarmes and because increasing numbers of "young" "V.V.'s of Russian Social-Democracy" came upon the scene. Everyone, who—I shall not say has participated in the *contemporary* Russian movement but has at least breathed its atmosphere—knows perfectly well that this was so. And the reason why we, nevertheless, strongly urge the reader to ponder over this universally known fact, and why we quote the facts, as an illustration, so to speak, about *Rabocheye Dyelo* as it first appeared, and about the controversy between the "old" and the "young" at the beginning of 1897—is that certain persons are speculating on the public's (or the very youthful youths') ignorance of these facts, and are boasting of their "democracy." We shall return to this point further on.

Secondly, in the very first literary manifestation of Economism, we observe the extremely curious and highly characteristic phenomenon—for an understanding of the differences prevailing among contemporary Social-Democrats—that the adherents of the "pure and simple" labour movement, the worshippers of the closest "organic" (the term used by *Rabocheye Dyelo*) contacts with the proletarian struggle, the op-

¹ We emphasize the word *contemporary* for the benefit of those who may pharisaically shrug their shoulders and say, it is easy enough to attack *Rabochaya Mysl* now, but is not all this ancient history? *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur* [change the name and the tale refers to you.—Ed.], we reply to such contemporary pharisees whose complete mental subjection to *Rabochaya Mysl* will be *proved* further on.

ponents of the non-labour intelligentsia (notwithstanding that it is a Socialist intelligentsia) are compelled, in order to defend their positions, to resort to the arguments of the *bourgeois* "pure and simple" trade unionists. This shows that from the very outset, *Rabochaya Mysl* began unconsciously to carry out the program of the *Credo*.¹ This shows (what the *Rabocheye Dyelo* cannot understand) that *all* worship of the spontaneity of the labour movement, all belittling of the role of "the conscious element," of the role of the party of Social-Democracy, *means, quite irrespective of whether the belittler likes it or not, strengthening the influence of the bourgeois ideology among the workers*. All those who talk about "exaggerating the importance of ideology,"² about exaggerating the role of the conscious elements,³ etc., imagine that the pure and simple labour movement can work out an independent ideology for itself, if only the workers "take their fate out of the hands of the leaders." But this is a profound mistake. To supplement what has been said above, we shall quote the following profoundly true and important utterances by Karl Kautsky on the new draft program of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party:⁴

"Many of our revisionist critics believe that Marx asserted that economic development and the class struggle create not only the conditions for Socialist production, but also, and directly, the *consciousness* [K. K.'s italics] of its necessity. And these critics advance the argument that the most highly capitalistically developed country, England, is more remote than any other from this consciousness. Judging from the draft, one might assume that the committee which drafted the Austrian program shared this alleged orthodox-Marxian view which is thus refuted. In the draft program it is stated: The more capitalist development increases the numbers of the proletariat, the more the proletariat is compelled and becomes fit to fight against capitalism. The proletariat becomes conscious of the possibility of and necessity for Socialism. In this connection Socialist consciousness is represented as a necessary and direct result of the proletarian

¹ *Credo*—the document in which the "Economists" expounded their views (see "The Protest of the Russian Social-Democrats" in this volume).—Ed.

² Letter of the "Economists," in *Iskra*, No. 12.

³ *Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 10.

⁴ *Neue Zeit*, 1901-02, XX, I, No. 3, p. 79. The committee's draft to which Kautsky refers was passed by the Vienna Congress at the end of last year in a slightly amended form.

class struggle. But this is absolutely untrue. Of course, Socialism, as a theory, has its roots in modern economic relationships just as the class struggle of the proletariat has, and just as the latter emerges from the struggle against the capitalist-created poverty and misery of the masses. But Socialism and the class struggle arise side by side and not one out of the other; each arises under different conditions. Modern Socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Indeed, modern economic science is as much a condition for Socialist production as, say, modern technology and the proletariat can create neither the one nor the other, no matter how much it may desire to do so; both arise out of the modern social process. The vehicles of science are not the proletariat, but the *bourgeois intelligentsia* [K. K.'s italics]¹ it was in the minds of some members of this stratum that modern Socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually developed proletarians, who, in their turn, introduced it into the proletarian class struggle where conditions allow that to be done. Thus, Socialist consciousness is something introduced into the proletarian class struggle from without (*von Aussen Hineingetragen*), and not something that arose within it spontaneously (*urwuchsig*). Accordingly, the old Hainfeld program quite rightly stated that the task of Social-Democracy is to imbue the proletariat (literally: saturate the proletariat) with the *consciousness* of its position and the consciousness of its tasks. There would be no need for this if consciousness emerged of itself from the class struggle. The new draft copied this proposition from the old program, and attached it to the proposition mentioned above. But this completely broke the line of thought . . .".

Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement¹ *the only choice is*, either the bourgeois or the Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a "third" ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn

¹ This does not mean, of course, that the workers have no part in creating such an ideology. But they take part not as workers, but as Socialist theoreticians, like Proudhon and Weitling; in other words, they take part only to the extent that they are able, more or less, to acquire the knowledge of their age and advance that knowledge. And in order that workingmen *may be able to do this more often*, efforts must be made to raise the level of the consciousness of the workers generally, care must be taken that the workers do not confine themselves to the artificially restricted limits of "*Literature for workers*" but that they study *general literature* to an increasing degree. It would be even more true to say "are not confined," instead of "do not confine themselves" because the workers themselves wish to read and do read all that is written for the intelligentsia and it is only a few (bad) intellectuals who believe that it is sufficient "for the workers" to be told a few things about factory conditions, and to repeat over and over again what has long been known.

by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle the Socialist ideology *in any way, to turn away from it in the slightest degree* means to strengthen bourgeois ideology. There is a lot of talk about spontaneity, but the *spontaneous* development of the labour movement leads to its becoming subordinated to the bourgeois ideology, *leads to its developing according to the program of the Credo*, for the spontaneous labour movement is pure and simple trade unionism, is *Nur-Gewerkschaftlerci*, and trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers to the bourgeoisie. Hence, our task, the task of Social-Democracy, is to *combat spontaneity*, to *divert* the labour movement from its spontaneous, trade unionist striving to go under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social-Democracy. The phrases employed by the authors of the "economic" letter in *Iskra* No. 12, about the efforts of the most inspired ideologists not being able to divert the labour movement from the path that is determined by the interaction of the material elements and the material environment, *are tantamount to the abandonment of Socialism*, and if only the authors of this letter were capable of fearlessly considering what they say to its logical conclusion, as everyone who enters the arena of literary and public activity should do, they would have nothing to do but "fold their useless arms over their empty breasts" and .. leave the field of action to the Struves and Prokopoviches who are dragging the labour movement "along the line of least resistance," *i. e.*, along the line of bourgeois trade unionism, or to the Zubatovs¹ who are dragging it along the line of clerical and gendarme "ideology."

Recall the example of Germany. What was the historical service Lassalle rendered to the German labour movement? It was that he *diverted* that movement from the path of trade unionism and co-operation preached by the Progressives along which it had been travelling spontaneously (*with the benign*

¹ S. V. Zubatov—Chief of the Moscow *Okhrana*, the initiator of "police socialism" in Russia, *i. e.*, the pseudo workers' organizations founded under the auspices of the gendarmes and police with the aim of diverting the attention of the workers from the revolutionary movement—*Ed*

assistance of Schulze-Delitzsche and those like him). To fulfil a task like that it was necessary to do something altogether different from indulging in talk about belittling the spontaneous element, about the tactics-process and about the interaction between elements and environment, etc. *A desperate struggle against spontaneity* had to be carried on, and only after such a struggle, extending over many years, was it possible to convert the working population of Berlin from a bulwark of the Progressive Party into one of the finest strongholds of Social-Democracy. This fight is not finished even now (as those who learn the history of the German movement from Prokopovich, and its philosophy from Struve, believe). Even now the German working class is, so to speak, broken up into a number of ideologies. A section of the workers is organized in Catholic and monarchist labour unions; another section is organized in the Hirsch-Duncker unions, founded by the bourgeois worshippers of English trade unionism, while a third section is organized in Social-Democratic trade unions. The last is immeasurably more numerous than the rest, but Social-Democracy was able to achieve this superiority, and will be able to maintain it, only by unswervingly fighting against all other ideologies.

But why, the reader will ask, does the spontaneous movement, the movement along the line of least resistance, lead to the domination of the bourgeois ideology? For the simple reason that the bourgeois ideology is far older in origin than the Socialist ideology; because it is more fully developed and because it possesses *immeasurably* more opportunities for being spread.¹ And the younger the Socialist movement is in any given country, the more vigorously must it fight against all attempts to entrench non-Socialist ideology, and the more

¹ It is often said: the working class *spontaneously* gravitates towards Socialism. This is perfectly true in the sense that Socialist theory defines the causes of the misery of the working class more profoundly and more correctly than any other theory, and for that reason the workers are able to appreciate it so easily, *provided*, however, that this theory does not step aside for spontaneity and *provided* it subordinates spontaneity to itself. Usually this is taken for granted, but *Rabocheye Dyelo* forgets or distorts this obvious thing. The working class spontaneously gravitates towards Socialism, but the more widespread (and continuously revived in the most diverse forms) bourgeois ideology spontaneously imposes itself upon the working class still more.

strongly must it warn the workers against those bad counselors who shout against "exaggerating the conscious elements," etc. The authors of the economic letter, in unison with *Rabocheye Dyelo*, declaim against the intolerance that is characteristic of the infancy of the movement. To this we reply: yes, our movement is indeed in its infancy, and in order that it may grow up the more quickly, it must become infected with intolerance against all those who retard its growth by subservience to spontaneity. Nothing is so ridiculous and harmful as pretending that we are "old hands" who have long ago experienced all the decisive episodes of the struggle!

Thirdly, the first number of *Rabochaya Mysl* shows that the term "Economism" (which, of course, we do not propose to abandon because this appellation has more or less established itself) does not adequately convey the real character of the new tendency. *Rabochaya Mysl* does not altogether repudiate the political struggle: the rules for a workers' benefit fund published in *Rabochaya Mysl*, No. 1, contains a reference to fighting against the government. *Rabochaya Mysl* believes, however, that "politics always obediently follows economics" (and *Rabocheye Dyelo* gives a variation of this thesis when, in its program, it asserts that "in Russia more than in any other country, the economic struggle is inseparable from the political struggle"). If by politics is meant Social-Democratic politics, then the postulates advanced by *Rabochaya Mysl* and *Rabocheye Dyelo* are absolutely wrong. The economic struggle of the workers is very often connected (although not inseparably) with bourgeois politics, clerical politics, etc., as we have already seen. If by politics is meant trade union politics, i.e., the common striving of all workers to secure from the government measures for the alleviation of the distress characteristic of their position, but which do not abolish that position, i.e., which do not remove the subjection of labour to capital, then *Rabocheye Dyelo's* postulate is correct. That striving indeed is common to the British trade unionists who are hostile to Socialism, to the Catholic workers, to the "Zubatov" workers, etc. There are politics and politics. Thus, we see that *Rabochaya Mysl* does not so much deny the political struggle as bow to

its *spontaneity*, to its lack of consciousness. While fully recognizing the political struggle (it would be more correct to say the political desires and demands of the workers), which arises spontaneously from the labour movement itself, it absolutely refuses *independently to work out* a specifically *Social-Democratic policy* corresponding to the general tasks of Socialism and to contemporary conditions in Russia. Further on we shall show that *Rabocheye Dyelo* commits the same error.

1902

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

THE CRISIS IN OUR PARTY

(Excerpt)

R. A FEW WORDS ON DIALECTICS TWO REVOLUTIONS

A general glance at the development of our Party crisis will readily show that in the main, with minor exceptions, the composition of the two contending sides remained unchanged throughout. It was a struggle between the revolutionary wing and the opportunist wing in our Party. But this struggle passed through the most varied stages, and anyone who wants to understand the vast amount of literature that has already been accumulated, the mass of fragmentary evidence, passages torn from their context, isolated accusations, and so on and so forth, must thoroughly familiarize himself with the peculiarities of each of these stages.

In each of these stages the circumstances of the struggle and the immediate object of attack are essentially different; each stage is, as it were, a separate battle in one general military campaign. Our struggle cannot be understood at all unless the concrete circumstances of each battle are studied.¹ But once

¹ Lenin has in mind the fierce dispute that arose at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party over the formulation of § 1 of the Party Rules on Party membership. Lenin's draft read: "A Party member is one who accepts its program, renders it financial support and belongs to one of the Party organizations."

Whereas Lenin fought for a monolithic militant Party, the formulation proposed by Martov threw the door of the Party open to the unstable, non-proletarian elements. The Second Congress adopted Martov's formula-

that is done we shall clearly find that the development does actually proceed dialectically, by way of contradictions: the minority becomes the majority, and the majority becomes the minority; each side passes from the defensive to the offensive, and from the offensive to the defensive; the starting of the ideological struggle (§ 1) is "negated" and gives place to an all-pervading squabble;¹ but then begins the "negation of the negation," and, having found a way of living more or less in "peace and harmony" on the various central bodies, we return to the starting point, the purely ideological struggle; but by now this "thesis" has been enriched by all the results of the "antithesis" and has become a higher synthesis, in which the isolated, casual error in connection with § 1 has grown into a quasi-system of opportunist views on matters of organization, and in which the connection between this fact and the basic division of our Party into a revolutionary wing and an opportunist wing becomes increasingly apparent to all. In a word, not only do oats grow according to Hegel, but the Russian Social-Democrats war among themselves according to Hegel.

But the great Hegelian dialectics which Marxism made its own, having first turned it right side up again, must never be confused with the vulgar trick of justifying the zigzags of politicians who swing over from the revolutionary wing to the opportunist wing of the Party, or with the vulgar habit of lumping together distinct statements, the distinct incidents in the development of different stages of a single process. Genuine dialectics does not justify individual errors, but studies the inevitable turns, proving that they were inevitable by a detailed study of the process in all its concreteness. The basic principle

tion of the first paragraph of the Rules which read: "A member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is one who accepts its program, supports the Party financially and renders it regular personal assistance under the direction of one of its organizations."

The Third Congress, which was held in 1905, revoked this decision and adopted the formulation proposed by Lenin.— *Ed.*

¹ The difficult problem of drawing a line between squabbling and a difference of principle now solves itself: all that relates to co-optation is squabbling; all that relates to an analysis of the struggle at the Congress, to the dispute over § 1 and to the swing towards opportunism and anarchism is a difference of principle.

of dialectics is that there is no such thing as abstract truth, truth is always concrete. . . . And, one thing more, the great Hegelian dialectics should never be confused with that vulgar worldly wisdom so well expressed by the Italian saying: *mettere la coda dove non va il capo* (sticking in the tail where the head will not go through).

The outcome of the dialectical development of our Party struggle has been two revolutions. The Party Congress was a real revolution, as Comrade Martov justly remarked in his "Once More in the Minority." The wits of the minority are also right when they say: "The world moves in revolutions; well, we have made a revolution!" They did indeed make a revolution after the Congress; and it is true, too, that generally speaking the world does move in revolutions. But the concrete significance of each concrete revolution is not defined by this general aphorism; there are revolutions which are more like reaction, to paraphrase the unforgettable expression of the unforgettable Comrade Makhov. We must know whether it was the revolutionary wing or the opportunist wing of the Party which was the actual force that made the revolution, we must know whether it was revolutionary or opportunist principles that inspired the fighters, before we can determine whether the "world" (our Party) was moved forward or backward by any concrete revolution.

Our Party Congress was unique and unprecedented in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. For the first time a secret revolutionary party succeeded in emerging from the darkness of underground life into broad daylight, displaying to the world the whole course and outcome of the struggle within our Party, the whole nature of our Party and of each of its more or less noticeable sections in relation to program, tactics and organization. For the first time we succeeded in throwing off the traditions of circle looseness and revolutionary philistinism, in bringing together dozens of the most varied groups, many of which had been fiercely warring among themselves and had been linked together solely by the force of an idea and were prepared (in principle, that is) to sacrifice all their group aloofness and group independence for the sake of the great whole which we were for the first time actually creat-

ing—the *Party*. But in politics sacrifices are not obtained gratis, they have to be won in battle. The battle over the slaughter of the organizations was bound to be terribly fierce. The fresh breeze of free and open struggle blew into a gale. The gale swept away—and a good thing that it did!—every conceivable remnant of the circle interests, sentiments and traditions without exception, and for the first time created authoritative bodies that were really Party bodies.

But it is one thing to call oneself something, and another to be it. It is one thing to sacrifice the circle system in principle for the benefit of the Party, and another to renounce one's own circle. The fresh breeze proved to be too fresh for those who were used to musty philistinism. "The Party was unable to stand the strain of its first Congress," as Comrade Martov rightly put it (inadvertently) in his "Once More in the Minority." The sense of injury over the slaughter of the organizations was too strong. The furious gale raised all the mud from the bottom of our Party stream; and the mud took its revenge. The old hidebound circle spirit overpowered the newly-born Party spirit. The opportunist wing of the Party, utterly routed though it had been, defeated—temporarily, of course—the revolutionary wing, having been accidentally reinforced by the Akimov windfall.

The result of all this is the new *Iskra*, which is compelled to develop and deepen the error its editors committed at the Party Congress. The old *Iskra* taught the truths of revolutionary struggle. The new *Iskra* teaches the worldly wisdom of yielding and living in harmony with everyone. The old *Iskra* was the organ of militant orthodoxy. The new *Iskra* treats us to a recrudescence of opportunism—chiefly on questions of organization. The old *Iskra* earned the honour of being detested by the opportunists, both Russian and West European. The new *Iskra* has "grown wise" and will soon cease to be ashamed of the praises lavished on it by the extreme opportunists. The old *Iskra* marched unswervingly towards its goal, and there was no discrepancy between its word and its deed. The inherent falsity of the position of the new *Iskra* inevitably leads—independently even of anyone's will or intention—to political hypocrisy. It cries out against the circle spirit in order

to conceal the victory of the circle spirit over the Party spirit. It pharisaically condemns splits, as if one can imagine any way of avoiding splits in any at all organized party except by the subordination of the minority to the majority. It says that heed must be paid to revolutionary public opinion, yet, while keeping dark the praises of the Akimovs, it indulges in petty scandal-mongering about the committees of the revolutionary wing of the Party! How shameful! How they have disgraced our old *Iskra!*

One step forward, two steps back. . . . It happens in the lives of individuals, and it happens in the history of nations and in the development of parties. It would be criminal cowardice to doubt even for a moment the inevitable and complete triumph of the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy, of proletarian organization and Party discipline. We have already won a great deal, and we must go on fighting, undeterred by reverses, fighting steadfastly, scorning the philistine methods of circle scrapping, doing our very utmost to preserve the single party tie among all the Russian Social-Democrats which has been established at the cost of so much effort, and striving by dint of stubborn and systematic work to make all Party members, and the workers in particular, fully and intelligently acquainted with the duties of Party members, with the struggle at the Second Party Congress, with all the causes and all the stages of our disagreements, and with the utter disastrousness of opportunism, which, in the sphere of organization, as in the sphere of our program and our tactics, helplessly surrenders to the bourgeois psychology, uncritically adopts the point of view of bourgeois democracy, and blunts the weapon of the class struggle of the proletariat.

In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the "lower depths" of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class.

Neither the decrepit rule of Russian tsardom nor the senile rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army. It will close its ranks more and more tightly, in spite of all zigzags and backward steps, in spite of the opportunist phrasemongering of the Girondists of present-day Social-Democracy, in spite of the smug praise of the antiquated circle spirit, and in spite of the tinsel and fuss of *intellectual* anarchism.

February-May 1901

MARX ON THE AMERICAN "BLACK REDISTRIBUTION"

In No. 12 of *Vperyod* mention was made of an article by Marx on the agrarian question in opposition to Kriege. This was not in 1848, as is erroneously stated in the article by Comrade. . . , but in 1846. Hermann Kriege, a collaborator of Marx and at that time a very young man, went to America in 1845 and established a journal there, the *Volkstribun* (*People's Tribune*), for the propaganda of Communism. But he conducted this propaganda in such a way that Marx was obliged to protest very strongly in the name of the German Communists against the manner in which Hermann Kriege was discrediting the Communist Party. The criticism of Kriege's trend published in 1846 in the *Westphälisches Dampfboot*¹ and reprinted in Volume II of Mehring's edition of Marx's works is of enormous interest for present-day Russian Social-Democrats.

The point is that at that time the agrarian question was being brought to the forefront by the very progress of the American social movement, just as it is being brought to the forefront in Russia at the present time, and the question precisely at issue was not developed capitalist society, but the creation of the primary and fundamental conditions for the proper development of capitalism. This latter circumstance is of particular importance in drawing a parallel between Marx's attitude towards the American ideas of "black redistribution" and the attitude of Russian Social-Democrats to the present peasant movement.²

¹ *Westphalian Steamer*, a monthly magazine published at that time in Germany.—Ed

² This refers to the peasant movement in Russia in the period of the 1905 Revolution.—Ed.

Kriege gave no material in his journal for a study of the concrete social peculiarities of the American system and for the elucidation of the true character of the movement of the agrarian reformers of those days who strove for the abolition of rent. Instead, Kriege (quite in the style of our "Socialist-Revolutionaries") clothed the question of the agrarian revolution in bombastic and high-sounding phrases: "Every poor person," wrote Kriege, "will at once become a useful member of human society as soon as he is given the opportunity for productive labour. Such an opportunity is assured him for all time as soon as society grants him a piece of land on which he can maintain himself and his family. . . . If this gigantic area (the 1,400,000,000 acres of North American state lands) is withdrawn from commerce and is secured in restricted amounts for labour,¹ an end will be put to poverty in America at one stroke. . . ."

To this Marx replies: "One might have expected him to understand that it is not within the power of legislators to hinder by means of decrees the evolution of the patriarchal system desired by Kriege into an industrial system, or to throw back the industrial and commercial states of the East coast into patriarchal barbarism."

And so, we have before us a real plan for an American black redistribution: the withdrawal of the bulk of the land from commerce, the right to land, the limitation of the amount of land that may be owned or occupied. And from the very outset Marx comes forward with a sober criticism of this utopianism and points out that the transformation of the patriarchal system into an industrial system is inevitable, *i. e.*, in present-day language, that the development of capitalism is inevitable. But it would be a big mistake to think that the utopian dreams of the members of the movement caused Marx to take up a hostile attitude to the movement in general. Nothing of the kind. Already at that time, at the very beginning of his literary career, Marx understood how to strip the real

¹ Recall what *Revolutionnaya Rossiya*, beginning with No. 8, wrote on the transfer of land from capital to labour, the importance of the state lands in Russia, equal land tenure, the bourgeois idea of drawing land into commerce, etc. Exactly the same as Kriege!

and progressive content of a movement of the ideological tinsel which clothed it. In the second part of his criticism entitled "The Economics [*i.e.*, the political economy] of the *People's Tribune* and Its Attitude to Young America," Marx writes:

"We fully recognize the historical justification of the movement of the American National Reformers. We know that this movement strives to attain results which, it is true, would temporarily further the industrialization of modern bourgeois society, but which, as the fruit of the proletarian movement, as an attack on landed property in general, especially under the conditions prevailing in America, must eventually, by its own consequences, lead to Communism. Kriege, who, with the German Communists in New York, joined the anti-rent movement, clothes this simple fact in bombastic phrases without even troubling about the content of movement itself and thereby proves that he is very unclear about the connection between young America and American conditions. We will quote another example of how he pours out his enthusiasm for humanity over a parcelling out of the land on an American scale suitable to the agrarians.

"In No. 10 [of *People's Tribune*], in an article entitled 'What We Want,' it is stated: 'The American National Reformers call the land the common heritage of all men—and demand that the national legislature pass measures to preserve the 1,400,000,000 acres of land that have not yet fallen into the hands of the grabbing speculators as the inalienable common property of the whole of mankind.' In order to preserve this 'common heritage,' this 'inalienable common property' for the whole of mankind he accepts the plan of the National Reformers: 'to provide every peasant, whatever his country of origin, with 160 acres of American land for his subsistence'; or as it is expressed in No. 14, 'An Answer to Conze': 'of this still untouched property of the people nobody is to take possession of more than 160 acres, and this only on condition that he cultivates them himself.' The land is thus to be preserved as 'inalienable common property,' and for 'the whole of mankind' at that, by immediately starting to share it out. Kriege moreover imagines that he can avert the necessary consequences of this division—concentration, industrial progress,

and the like—by legislation. He regards 160 acres of land as an always fixed quantity, as though the value of such an area does not vary according to its quality. The 'peasants' will have to exchange among themselves and with other people, if not the land itself, at least the produce of the land; and once they go so far, it will soon turn out that one 'peasant,' even without capital, thanks to his labour and the greater natural fertility of his 160 acres, will have reduced another peasant to the position of his farmhand. And then is it not all the same whether 'the land' or the products of the land 'fall into the hands of grabbing speculators'? Let us seriously examine Kriege's gift to mankind. One thousand four hundred million acres are to be preserved as 'the inalienable common property of the whole of mankind.' Every 'peasant' is to receive 160 acres. We can therefore calculate the size of Kriege's 'mankind': exactly 8,750,000 'peasants,' who, counting five persons to a family, represent 43,750,000 persons. We can likewise calculate the duration of this 'for all time' during which 'the proletariat, as the representative of the whole of mankind,' at least in the U.S.A., can lay claim 'to all the land.' If the population of the U.S.A. continues to increase as rapidly as it has done until now, *i.e.*, double itself in 25 years, this 'for all time' will last for not quite 40 years; by this time these 1,400,000,000 acres will be occupied and future generations will have nothing to lay claim to. But as the free grant of land will greatly increase immigration, Kriege's 'for all time' may come to an end even sooner particularly if it is borne in mind that land sufficient for 44,000,000 persons will not be enough even to serve as a channel for diverting present European pauperism, for in Europe one out of every ten persons is a pauper and there are 7,000,000 paupers in the British Isles alone. We meet with a similar example of naïveté in economics in No. 13 in the article 'To the Women,' in which Kriege says that if the city of New York released its 52,000 acres of land on Long Island it would be sufficient 'at one stroke' to rid New York of all pauperism, misery and crime forever.

"If Kriege had regarded the movement for freeing the land as an initial form of the proletarian movement, necessary under certain conditions, if he had regarded it as a movement which.

by reason of the position in life of the class from which it proceeds, must necessarily develop into a Communist movement, if he had shown that the Communist tendencies in America had at first to reveal themselves in this agrarian form, which seems to contradict all Communism, there would have been nothing to object to. But he declares what is only a subordinate form of a movement of certain definite people to be the cause of mankind in general; he represents it ... as the final and highest aim of every movement in general and thus transforms the definite aims of the movement into sheer bombastic nonsense. In the same article [No. 10] he continues unperturbed to chant his song of triumph: 'And thus the old dreams of the Europeans would at last come true. A place would be prepared for them on this side of the ocean which they would only have to take and to fructify with the labour of their hands and they would be able proudly to declare to all the tyrants of the world: This is *my* cabin which you have not built; this is *my* hearth whose glow fills your hearts with envy.'

"He might have added: This is *my* dunghheap which I, my wife, my children, my manservant and my cattle have produced. And who are the Europeans whose 'dreams' would thus come true? Not the Communist workers, but bankrupt shopkeepers and handicraftsmen, or ruined colliers, who yearn for the good fortune of once again becoming petty bourgeois and peasants in America. And what is the 'wish' that is to be realized by means of these 1,400,000,000 acres? No other than that all men be converted into private owners, a wish which is as practical and as Communistic as the wish to convert all men into emperors, kings and popes."

Marx's criticism is full of venom and sarcasm. He castigates Kriege for precisely those aspects of his views which we now observe among our "Socialist-Revolutionaries": the predominance of phrases, petty-bourgeois utopias advanced as the highest revolutionary utopianism, failure to understand the real foundations of the modern economic system and its development. With remarkable penetration, Marx, who was then only a *future* economist, points to the role of exchange and commodity production. The peasants will exchange, if not land, then at least the produce of the land, he says—and that

says everything! The whole presentation of the question is in many, many respects applicable to the Russian peasant movement and its petty-bourgeois "Socialist" ideologists.

But at the same time, Marx does not simply "repudiate" this petty-bourgeois movement, does not dogmatically ignore it, for fear, as is characteristic of many text-jugglers, of soiling his hands by contact with revolutionary petty-bourgeois democracy. While mercilessly ridiculing the absurdity of the ideological integument of the movement, Marx strives in a sober materialist manner to determine its *real* historical content, the consequences which must inevitably follow from it because of objective conditions regardless of the will and consciousness, the dreams and theories of various individuals. Marx, therefore, does not condemn, but fully approves of Communists supporting the movement. Adapting the dialectical standpoint, *i.e.*, examining the movement from every side, taking into account both the past and the future, Marx notes the revolutionary aspect of the attack on private property in land. Marx recognizes the petty-bourgeois movement as a peculiar initial form of the proletarian, Communist movement. You will not achieve what you dream of by means of this movement, says Marx to Kriege: instead of fraternity, you will get petty-bourgeois isolation, instead of inalienable peasant allotments, the land will be drawn into commerce, instead of a blow at the grabbing speculators, the basis for capitalist development will be expanded. But the capitalist evil you are vainly hoping to avoid is historically good, for it will frightfully accelerate social development and bring ever so much nearer new and higher forms of the Communist movement. A blow struck at landed property will facilitate further blows at property in general which are inevitable. The revolutionary action of the lower class for a change that will temporarily provide a restricted prosperity, and by no means for all, will facilitate the inevitable further revolutionary action of the very lowest class for a change that will really ensure complete human happiness for all toilers.

Marx's presentation of the case against Kriege should serve as a model for us Russian Social-Democrats. There can be no doubt about the real petty-bourgeois nature of the present

peasant movement in Russia. This we must explain by every means in our power, and we must ruthlessly and irreconcilably combat all the illusions of all the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" or primitive Socialists on this score. The separate organization of an independent party of the proletariat which, through all democratic changes, will strive for a complete Socialist revolution, must be our constant aim, which must not be lost sight of for a moment. But to turn our backs on the peasant movement on this ground would be hopeless philistinism and pedantry. No, there is no doubt about the revolutionary and democratic nature of this movement, and we must support it with all our might. develop it, make it a politically conscious and definitely class movement, push it forward, march hand in hand with it to the end—for we are marching far beyond the end of any peasant movement; we are marching to the very end of the division of society into classes. There is hardly another country in the world where the peasantry is experiencing such suffering, such oppression and humiliation as in Russia. The more gloomy this oppression of the peasantry has been, the more powerful will now be its awakening, the more invincible its revolutionary onslaught. It is the business of the class-conscious revolutionary proletariat to support this onslaught with all its might, so that it may leave no stone standing of this old, accursed, feudal and autocratic slavish Russia, so that it may create a new generation of bold and free people, a new republican country in which our proletarian struggle for Socialism will have room to expand.

April 1905

THE TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

(Excerpt)

POSTSCRIPT

ONCE AGAIN *Osvobozhdeniye*-ISM¹ ONCE AGAIN NEW *Iskra*-ISM²

III. THE VULGAR BOURGEOIS REPRESENTATION OF DICTATORSHIP AND MARX'S VIEW OF IT

Mehring tells us in the notes to his edition of Marx's articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 1848 that one of the reproaches levelled at this newspaper by bourgeois publications was that it had allegedly demanded "the immediate introduction of a dictatorship as the sole means of achieving democracy" (Marx, *Nachlaß*, Vol. III, p. 53). From the vulgar bourgeois standpoint the concepts dictatorship and democracy are mutually exclusive. With no understanding of the theory of class struggle, and accustomed as he is to seeing in the political arena only the petty squabbling of the various bourgeois

¹ *Osvobozhdeniye*-ism—i.e., bourgeois liberalism. The term is derived from the title of the magazine *Osvobozhdeniye* which was published in Stuttgart during the years 1902-05. This magazine, of which Struve was the editor, served as a centre for a group of prominent Russian bourgeois liberals who subsequently, in 1905, founded the Constitutional Democratic Party (abbreviated: Cadets).—Ed.

² New *Iskra*-ism—i.e., Menshevism. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. the Mensheviks gained possession of the *Iskra* and converted the newspaper into their own factional organ, using it as a weapon to fight the Bolsheviks and the decisions of the Second Congress. In contra distinction of Lenin's "old" *Iskra*, the Menshevik organ began to be known as the "new" *Iskra*.—Ed.

circles and coteries, the bourgeois conceives dictatorship to mean the annulment of all the liberties and guarantees of democracy, tyranny of every kind, and every sort of abuse of power in the personal interests of a dictator. In point of fact, it is precisely this vulgar bourgeois view that is manifested in the writings of our Martynov, who winds up his "new campaign" in the new *Iskra* by attributing the partiality of the *Vperyod* and the *Proletary* for the slogan of dictatorship to Lenin's "being obsessed by a passionate desire to try his luck" (*Iskra*, No. 103, p. 3, col. 2). In order to explain to Martynov the concept of class dictatorship as distinct from personal dictatorship, and the aims of a democratic dictatorship as distinct from a Socialist dictatorship, it would not be amiss to dwell on the views of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

"After a revolution," wrote the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on September 14, 1848, "every provisional organization of the state requires a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that. From the very beginning we have reproached Camphausen" (the head of the Ministry after March 18, 1848) "for not acting dictatorially, for not having immediately smashed up and eliminated the remnants of the old institutions. And while Herr Camphausen was lulling himself with constitutional illusions, the defeated party (i.e., the party of reaction) strengthened its positions in the bureaucracy and in the army, and here and there even began to venture upon open struggle."

Here, Mehring justly remarks, we have in a few sentences a summary of all that was propounded in detail in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in long articles on the Camphausen Ministry. What do these words of Marx tell us? That a provisional revolutionary government *must* act dictatorially (a proposition which the *Iskra* was totally unable to grasp since it was fighting shy of the slogan of dictatorship), and that the task of such a dictatorship is to destroy the remnants of the old institutions (which is precisely what was clearly stated in the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party about the struggle against counter-revolution and what, as we have shown above, was omitted in the resolution of the Conference). Thirdly, and lastly, it follows from these words that Marx castigated the bourgeois

democrats for entertaining "constitutional illusions" in a period of revolution and open civil war. The meaning of these words becomes particularly obvious from the article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of June 6, 1848. Marx wrote: "A Constituent National Assembly must first of all be an active, revolutionary-active assembly. The Frankfurt Assembly,¹ however, is busying itself with school exercises in parliamentarism while allowing the government to act. Let us assume that this learned council succeeds after mature consideration in working out the best possible agenda and the best possible constitution. But what is the use of the best possible agenda and of the best possible constitution, if the German governments have in the meantime placed the bayonet on the agenda?"

That is the meaning of the slogan of dictatorship. We can gauge from this what Marx's attitude would have been towards resolutions which call a "decision to organize a constituent assembly" a decisive victory or which invite us to "remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition!"

Major questions in the life of nations are settled only by force. The reactionary classes are usually themselves the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to "place the bayonet on the agenda" as the Russian autocracy has been doing systematically and consistently everywhere ever since January 9. And since such a situation has arisen, since the bayonet has really become the main point on the political agenda, since insurrection has proved to be imperative and urgent—constitutional illusions and school exercises in parliamentarism become only a screen for the bourgeois betrayal of the revolution, a screen to conceal the fact that the bourgeoisie is "recoiling" from the revolution. It is therefore the slogan of dictatorship that the genuinely revolutionary class must advance.

On the question of the tasks of this dictatorship Marx wrote, already in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, as follows: "The National Assembly had only to act dictatorially against all the

¹ *Frankfurt Assembly*—the Constitutional Assembly convened at Frankfurt am Main (May 1848—June 1849) for the purpose of drafting an All-German constitution which won the appellation from Marx as an "Assembly of conciliators."—*Ed.*

reactionary attempts of the obsolete governments, and the force of public opinion which it would then have won for itself would be so great that all bayonets and rifle butts would have been splintered against it. . . . But this Assembly bores the German people instead of carrying the people with it or being carried away by it." In Marx's opinion, the National Assembly should have "eliminated from the regime actually existing in Germany everything that contradicted the principle of the sovereignty of the people," then it should have "consolidated the revolutionary ground on which it rested in order to make the sovereignty of the people, won by the revolution, secure against all attacks."

Thus, the tasks which Marx set before a revolutionary government or dictatorship in 1848 amounted in substance above all to a *democratic* revolution, *viz.*, defence against counter-revolution and the actual elimination of everything that militated against the sovereignty of the people. And this is no other than a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship.

To proceed: which classes, in Marx's opinion, could and should have achieved this task (actually to exercise to the end the principle of the sovereignty of the people and to beat off the attacks of the counter-revolution)? Marx speaks of the "people." But we know that he always ruthlessly combated the petty-bourgeois illusions about the unity of the "people" and about the absence of a class struggle within the people. In using the word "people," Marx did not thereby gloss over class differences, but united definite elements capable of carrying the revolution to completion.

After the victory of the Berlin proletariat on March 18, wrote the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the results of the revolution proved to be twofold: "On the one hand the arming of the people, the right of association, the sovereignty of the people actually attained; on the other hand, the preservation of the monarchy and the Camphausen-Hansemann Ministry, *i.e.*, the government of the representatives of the upper bourgeoisie. Thus the revolution had two series of results, which had necessarily to diverge. The people had emerged victorious, it had won liberties of a decisively democratic nature, but the direct power passed not into its hands, but into those of the big

bourgeoisie. In a word, the revolution was not completed. The people allowed the formation of a ministry of big bourgeois, and the big bourgeois immediately betrayed their tendencies by offering an alliance to the old Prussian nobility and bureaucracy. Arnim, Canitz and Schwerin joined the Ministry.

"The upper bourgeoisie, ever anti-revolutionary, concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the reaction out of fear of the people, that is to say, the workers and the democratic bourgeoisie." (Our italics.)

Thus, not only a "decision to organize a constituent assembly," but even its actual convocation is insufficient for a decisive victory of the revolution! Even after a partial victory in an armed struggle (the victory of the Berlin workers over the troops on March 18, 1848) an "incomplete" revolution, a revolution "that has not been carried to completion," is possible. But on what does its completion depend? It depends on whose hands the immediate rule passes into, whether into the hands of the Petrunkeviches and Rodichevs,¹ that is to say, the Camp-hausens and the Hansemanns, or into the hands of the *people*, i.e., the workers and the democratic bourgeoisie. In the first case the bourgeoisie will possess power, and the proletariat—"freedom of criticism," freedom to "remain the party of the extreme revolutionary opposition." Immediately after the victory the bourgeoisie will conclude an alliance with the reaction (this would inevitably happen in Russia too, if, for example, the St. Petersburg workers gained only a partial victory in the street fighting with the troops and left it to Messrs. Petrunkevich and Co. to form a government). In the second case, a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, i.e., the complete victory of the revolution, would be possible.

It now remains to define more precisely what Marx really meant by "democratic bourgeoisie" (*demokratische Bürgerschaft*), which together with the workers he called the people, in contradistinction to the big bourgeoisie.

A clear answer to this question is supplied by the following passage from an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of

¹ I. I. Petrunkevich and F. I. Rodichev—prominent leaders of the liberal monarchist Cadet party.—Ed.

July 29, 1848: "... the German revolution of 1848 is only a parody of the French revolution of 1789.

"On August 4, 1789, three weeks after the storming of the Bastille, the French people in a single day prevailed over the feudal burdens.

"On July 11, 1848, four months after the March barricades, the feudal burdens prevailed over the German people. *Teste Gierke cum Hansemanno*.¹

"The French bourgeoisie of 1789 did not for a moment leave its allies, the peasants, in the lurch. It knew that the foundation of its rule was the destruction of feudalism in the countryside, the creation of a free landowning (*grundbesitzenden*) peasant class.

"The German bourgeoisie of 1848 is without the least compunction betraying the peasants, who are its most natural allies, the flesh of its flesh, and without whom it is powerless against the nobility.

"The continuance of feudal rights, their sanction under the guise of (illusory) redemption—such is the result of the German revolution of 1848. That is the little wool out of the great cry."

This is a very instructive passage: it gives us four important propositions: 1) The incompleted German revolution differs from the completed French revolution in that the German bourgeoisie betrayed not only democracy in general, but also the peasantry in particular. 2) The foundation for the full consummation of a democratic revolution is the creation of a free class of peasants. 3) The creation of such a class means the abolition of feudal burdens, the destruction of feudalism, but does not yet mean a Socialist revolution. 4) The peasants

¹ "Witnesses: Herr Gierke and Herr Hansemann." Hansemann was a Minister who represented the party of the big bourgeoisie (Russian counterpart: Trubetskoy or Rodichev, and the like), Gierke was Minister of Agriculture in the Hansemann Cabinet, who drew up a "bold" plan for "abolishing feudal burdens," professedly "without compensation," but in fact for abolishing only the minor and unimportant burdens while preserving or granting compensation for the more essential ones. Herr Gierke was something like the Russian Messrs. Kablukov, Manuilov, Hertzstein and similar bourgeois liberal friends of the muzhik who desire the "extension of peasant landownership" but do not wish to hurt the landlords.

are the "most natural" allies of the bourgeoisie, that is to say, of the democratic bourgeoisie, which without them is "powerless" against the reaction.

With the corresponding allowances for concrete national peculiarities and the substitution of serfdom for feudalism, all these propositions are fully applicable to Russia in 1905. There is no doubt that by learning from the experience of Germany, as elucidated by Marx, we cannot arrive at any other slogan for a decisive victory of the revolution than the slogan calling for a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. There is no doubt that the main components of the "people," whom Marx in 1848 contrasted with the resisting reactionaries and the treacherous bourgeoisie, are the proletariat and the peasantry. There is no doubt that in Russia too the liberal bourgeoisie and the gentlemen of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League are betraying and will continue to betray the peasantry, i.e., will confine themselves to a pseudo-reform and take the side of the landlords in the decisive battle between them and the peasantry. Only the proletariat is capable of supporting the peasantry to the end in this struggle. There is no doubt, finally, that in Russia also the success of the peasant struggle, i.e., the transfer of the whole of the land to the peasantry, will signify a complete democratic revolution and will constitute the social support of the revolution carried to its completion, but it will by no means signify a Socialist revolution, or "socialization," about which the ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, talk. The success of the peasant uprising, the victory of the democratic revolution will but clear the way for a genuine and decisive struggle for Socialism on the basis of a democratic republic. In this struggle the peasantry as a landowning class will play the same treacherous, vacillating part as is being played at present by the bourgeoisie in the struggle for democracy. To forget this is to forget Socialism, to deceive oneself and others as to the real interests and tasks of the proletariat.

In order to leave no gaps in the presentation of the views held by Marx in 1848, it is necessary to note one essential difference between German Social-Democracy of that time (or

the Communist Party of the proletariat, to use the language of the period) and present-day Russian Social-Democracy. Here is what Mehring says:

"It" (the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*) "appeared in the political arena as the 'organ of democracy,' and although the red thread that ran through all its articles is unmistakable, it at first represented the interests of the bourgeois revolution against absolutism and feudalism to a greater extent than the interests of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Very little is to be found in its columns about the separate labour movement during the years of the revolution, although one should not forget that along with it there appeared twice a week, under the editorship of Moll and Schapper, a special organ of the Cologne Labour League. At any rate, the present-day reader will be struck by how little attention the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* paid to the German labour movement of its day, although its most capable mind, Stephan Born, was a pupil of Marx and Engels in Paris and Brussels and was new [in 1848] correspondent for their newspaper in Berlin. Born relates in his *Memoirs* that Marx and Engels never expressed a single word in disapproval of his agitation among the workers; nevertheless, it appears probable from subsequent declarations of Engels' that they were dissatisfied, at least with the methods of this agitation. Their dissatisfaction was justified inasmuch as the class consciousness of the proletariat in by far the greater part of Germany was as yet entirely undeveloped, and Born was forced to make many concessions to it, which could not stand the test of criticism from the viewpoint of the *Communist Manifesto*. Their dissatisfaction was unjustified inasmuch as Born managed nonetheless to maintain the agitation conducted by him on a relatively high plane. . . . Without doubt, Marx and Engels were also historically and politically right in thinking that it was to the utmost interest of the working class primarily to push the bourgeois revolution forward as far as possible. . . . Nevertheless, a remarkable proof of how the elementary instinct of the labour movement is able to correct the conceptions of the most brilliant thinkers is provided by the fact that in April 1849 they decided in favour of a specific workers' organization and of participation in the

labour congress, which was being prepared especially by the East Elbe [Eastern Prussia] proletariat."

Thus, it was only in April 1849, after the revolutionary newspaper had been appearing for almost a year (the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* began publication on June 1, 1848) that Marx and Engels declared in favour of a special workers' organization! Until then they were merely running an "organ of democracy" unconnected by any organizational ties with an independent workers' party. This fact, monstrous and incredible as it may appear from our present-day standpoint, clearly shows us what an enormous difference there is between the German Social-Democratic Party of those days and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party of today. This fact shows how much less the proletarian features of the movement, the proletarian current within it, were in evidence in the German democratic revolution (because of the backwardness of Germany in 1848 both economically and politically—its disunity as a state). This should not be forgotten in judging Marx's repeated declarations during this period and somewhat later about the need for organizing an independent proletarian party. Marx arrived at this practical conclusion only as a result of the experience of the democratic revolution, almost a year later—so middle-class, so petty-bourgeois was the whole atmosphere in Germany at that time. To us this conclusion is an old and solid acquisition of half a century's experience of international Social-Democracy—an acquisition with which we *began* to organize the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. In our case there can be no question, for instance, of revolutionary proletarian newspapers keeping outside the pale of the Social-Democratic Party of the proletariat, or of their appearing even for a moment simply as "organs of democracy."

But the contrast which had hardly begun to reveal itself between Marx and Stephan Born exists in our case in a form which is the more developed, the more powerfully the proletarian current manifests itself in the democratic stream of our revolution. Speaking of the probable dissatisfaction of Marx and Engels with the agitation conducted by Stephan Born, Mehring expresses himself too mildly and too evasively.

This is what Engels wrote of Born in 1885 (in his preface to the *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*. Zurich, 1885):¹

The members of the Communist League everywhere stood at the head of the extreme democratic movement, proving thereby that the League was an excellent school of revolutionary action. And he went on to say: "... the compositor Stephan Born, who had worked in Brussels and Paris as an active member of the League, founded a Workers' Brotherhood (*Arbeiterverbrüderung*) in Berlin which became fairly widespread and existed until 1850. Born, a very talented young man, who, however, was rather too much in a hurry to become a big political figure, fraternized with the most miscellaneous ragtag and bobtail (*Kreti und Plethi*) in order to get a crowd together, and was not at all the man who could bring unity into the discordant tendencies, light into the chaos. Consequently, in the official publications of the association the views represented in the *Communist Manifesto* are mingled hodge-podge with guild recollections and guild aspirations, fragments of Louis Blanc and Proudhon, protectionism, etc.; in short they desired to be all things to all men (*Allen alles sein*). *In particular, strikes, trade unions and producers' co-operatives were set going, and it was forgotten that what had to be done above all was, by means of political victories, to conquer the field in which alone such things could be lastingly realized.* (Our italics.) And when the victories of the reaction made the leaders of the Brotherhood realize the necessity of taking a direct part in the revolutionary struggle, they were naturally left in the lurch by the confused mass which they had grouped around themselves. Born took part in the Dresden uprising in May 1849, and got away by pure luck. But the Workers' Brotherhood held aloof from the great political movement of the proletariat, as a purely separate body which, to a large extent, existed only on paper and played such a subordinate role that the reaction found it necessary to suppress it only in 1850, and its surviving branches many years

¹ *Revelations about the Trial of the Communists at Cologne.* (Cf. Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 20-21).—Ed

later. Born, whose real name should be *Buttermilch*¹ did not become a big political figure but a petty Swiss professor, who no longer translates Marx into guild language but the meek Renan into his own fulsome German."

That is how Engels judged the two tactics of Social-Democracy in the democratic revolution!

Our new *Iskra*-ites are also tending to "Economism," and with such unreasonable zeal as to earn the praises of the monarchist bourgeoisie for their "seeing the light." They too collect around themselves a motley crowd, flattering the Economists, demagogically attracting the undeveloped masses by the slogans of "self-activity," "democracy," "autonomy," etc., etc. Their labour unions, too, often exist only on the pages of the braggart new *Iskra*. Their slogans and resolutions betray a similar failure to understand the tasks of the "great political movement of the proletariat."

June-July 1905

¹ Born's real name is *Buttermilch*. In translating Engels I made a mistake in the first edition by taking the word *Buttermilch* to be not a proper noun but a common noun. This mistake naturally afforded great delight to the Mensheviks. Kollsoy wrote that I had "rendered Engels more profound" (reprinted in *Two Years*, a collection of articles) and Plekhanov even now recalls this mistake in the *Topanishch*—in short, it afforded an excellent pretext to slur over the question of the two tendencies in the working-class movement of 1848 in Germany: the tendency of Born (akin to our Economists) and the Marxist tendency. To take advantage of the mistake of an opponent, even if it was only on the question of Born's name, is no more than natural. But to use a correction to a translation to slur over the question of the two tactics is to dodge the real issue. [Author's note to the 1908 edition.—Ed.]

PARTISAN WARFARE

The question of partisan activities is one that greatly interests our Party and the mass of the workers. We have dealt with this question in passing several times, and now we propose to give the more complete statement of our views which we have promised.

I

Let us begin from the beginning. What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the question of the forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of Socialism by the fact that it does not bind the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It admits the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not "concoct" them, but only generalizes, organizes, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the *mass* struggle in progress, which with the development of the movement, with the growth of the class consciousness of the masses, with the accentuation of economic and political crises, is continually giving rise to new and more varied methods of defence and offence. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle that are possible and that exist at the given moment only, recognizing as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, *inevitably* arise as the given social situation changes. In this respect Marxism *learns*,

if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatever to *teach* the masses forms of struggle invented by "systematizers" in the seclusion of their studies. We know—said Kautsky, for instance, when examining the forms of social revolution—that the coming crisis will introduce new forms of struggle that we are now unable to foresee.

In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat the question apart from the concrete historical situation is to be ignorant of the very rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political and national-cultural conditions, conditions of life and other conditions, different forms of struggle appear in the foreground and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position.

These are the two principal theoretical propositions by which we must be guided. The history of Marxism in Western Europe provides an infinite number of examples corroborating what has been said. European Social-Democracy at the present time regards parliamentarism and the trade union movement as the principal forms of struggle; it recognized insurrection in the past, and is quite prepared to recognize it, should conditions change, in the future—despite the opinion of bourgeois liberals like the Russian Cadets and the *Bezzaglavtsi*.¹ Social-Democracy in the 'seventies rejected the general strike as a social panacea, as a means of overthrowing the bourgeoisie at one stroke in a non-political way—but Social-Democracy fully recognizes the mass political strike (especially after the experience of Russia in 1905) as *one* of the methods of struggle

¹ From *Bez Zaglavii* (*Without Title*), a weekly published in 1906 by the "Economists"—Prokopovich, Kuskova and others (former Social-Democrats) which pursued a line akin to that of the Constitutional-Democrats — *Ed.*

essential under *certain* conditions. Social-Democracy recognized street barricade fighting in the 'forties, rejected it for definite reasons at the end of the nineteenth century, and expressed complete readiness to revise the latter view and to admit the expediency of barricade fighting after the experience of Moscow, which in the words of K. Kautsky, initiated new tactics of barricade fighting.

II

Having established the general propositions of Marxism, let us turn to the Russian Revolution. Let us recall the historical development of the forms of struggle it initiated. First there were the economic strikes of workers (1896-1900), then the political demonstrations of workers and students (1901-02), peasant revolts (1902), the beginning of mass political strikes variously combined with demonstrations (Rostov 1902, the strikes in the summer of 1903, January 22 [9], 1905), the all-Russian political strike accompanied by local cases of barricade fighting (October 1905), mass barricade fighting and armed insurrection (1905, December), the peaceful parliamentary struggle (April-June 1906), partial military revolts (June 1905-July 1906) and partial peasant revolts (autumn 1905-autumn 1906).

Such is the position of affairs in the autumn of 1906 from the standpoint of forms of struggle in general. The "retaliatory" form of struggle adopted by the autocracy is the Black-Hundred pogrom, from Kishinev in the spring of 1903 to Sedletz in the autumn of 1906. Throughout this period the organization of Black-Hundred pogroms and the beating up of Jews, students, revolutionaries and class-conscious workers continued to progress and perfect itself, combining the violence of Black-Hundred troops with the violence of hired ruffians, reaching the point of bombarding villages and cities by artillery and merging with punitive expeditions, punitive trains and so forth.

Such is the principal background of the picture. Against this background there stands out—unquestionably as something partial, secondary and auxiliary—the phenomenon to the study and appreciation of which the present article is devoted.

What is this phenomenon? What are its forms? What are its causes? When did it arise and how far has it spread? What is its significance in the general march of the revolution? What is its relation to the struggle of the working class organized and led by Social-Democracy? Such are the questions which we must now proceed to examine after having painted the general background of the picture.

The phenomenon in which we are interested is the *armed* struggle. It is conducted by individuals and by small groups. Some belong to revolutionary organizations, while others (the *majority* in certain parts of Russia) do not belong to any revolutionary organization. Armed struggle pursues two *different* aims, which must be *strictly* distinguished: in the first place, this struggle aims at assassinating individuals, chiefs and subordinates in the army and police; in the second place, it aims at the confiscation of monetary funds both from the government and from private persons. The confiscated funds go partly into the treasury of the Party, partly for the special purpose of arming and preparing for insurrection, and partly for the maintenance of persons engaged in the struggle we are describing. The big expropriations (such as the Caucasian expropriation, involving over 200,000 rubles, and the Moscow expropriation, involving 875,000 rubles) went in fact first and foremost to revolutionary parties—small expropriations go mostly, and sometimes entirely, to the maintenance of the “expropriators.” This form of struggle undoubtedly became widely developed and extensive only in 1906, *i.e.*, after the December uprising. The accentuation of the political crisis to the point of an armed struggle and, in particular, the accentuation of poverty, hunger and unemployment in town and country, was one of the important causes of the struggle we are describing. This form of struggle was adopted as the preferable and even *exclusive* form of social struggle by the vagabond elements of the population, the *lumpen-proletariat* and the anarchist groups. The declaration of martial law, the mobilization of fresh troops, the Black-Hundred pogroms (Sedletz), and the courts-martial must be regarded as the “retaliatory” form of struggle adopted by the autocracy.

III

The opinion usually held of the struggle we are describing is that it is anarchism, Blanquism, the old terrorism, the acts of individuals isolated from the masses, which demoralize the workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganize the movement and injure the revolution. Examples in support of such an opinion can easily be found in the events reported every day in the newspapers.

But are such examples convincing? In order to verify this, let us take a locality where the form of struggle we are examining is *most* developed—the Lettish region. This is the way the newspaper *Novoye Vremya* (in its issues of September 21 [8] and 25 [12]) complains of the activities of the Lettish Social-Democrats. The Lettish Social-Democratic Labour Party (a section of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) regularly issues its paper in 30,000 copies. The announcement columns publish lists of spies whom it is the duty of every honest person to exterminate. People who assist the police are proclaimed “enemies of the revolution,” liable to execution and, moreover, to confiscation of property. The public is instructed to give money to the Social-Democratic Party only against signed and stamped receipt. In the latest report of the Party, showing a total revenue of 48,000 rubles for the year, there figures a sum of 5,600 rubles contributed by the Libau branch of arms which was obtained by expropriation. Naturally, the *Novoye Vremya* rages and fumes against this “revolutionary law,” against this “sinister government.”

Nobody will be so bold as to call these activities of the Lettish Social-Democrats anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism. But why? Because here we have a *clear* connection between the new form of struggle and the uprising which broke out in December and which is again brewing. This connection is not so perceptible in the case of Russia as a whole, but it exists. The fact that “partisan” warfare became widespread precisely after December, and its connection with the accentuation not only of the economic crisis but also of the political crisis is beyond dispute. The old Russian terrorism was an affair of the

intellectual conspirator; today as a general rule partisan warfare is waged by the combatant worker, or simply by the unemployed worker. Blanquism and anarchism easily occur to the minds of people who have a weakness for stereotype; but under circumstances of insurrection, which are so apparent in the Lettish region, the inappropriateness of such trite labels is only too obvious.

The example of the Letts clearly demonstrates how incorrect, unscientific and unhistorical is the practice so very customary among us of analysing partisan warfare without reference to the circumstances of insurrection. The circumstances of insurrection must be borne in mind, we must reflect on the peculiar features of an intermediate period between big attacks of the insurrection, we must realize what forms of struggle inevitably arise under such circumstances, and not try to shirk the issue by a collection of words learned by rote, such as are used equally by the Cadets and the *Novoye Vremya*: anarchism, robbery, vagabondism!

It is said that partisan acts disorganize our work. Let us apply this argument to the situation that has existed since December 1905, to the period of Black-Hundred pogroms and martial law. What disorganizes the movement more in *such* a period: the absence of resistance or organized partisan warfare? Compare the centre of Russia with her western borders, with Poland and the Lettish region. It is unquestionable that partisan warfare is far more widespread and far more developed in the western border regions. And is it equally unquestionable that the revolutionary movement in general, and the Social-Democratic movement in particular, are *more disorganized* in the centre of Russia than in her western border regions. Of course, it would not enter our heads to conclude from this that the Polish and Lettish Social-Democratic movements are less disorganized *thanks* to partisan warfare. No. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that partisan warfare is not to blame for the state of disorganization of the Social-Democratic labour movement in Russia in 1906.

Allusion is often made in this respect to the peculiarities of national conditions. But this allusion very clearly betrays

the weakness of the current argument. If it is a matter of national conditions then it is not a matter of anarchism, Blanquism or terrorism—sins that are common to Russia in general and even to the Russians especially—but of something else. Analyse this something else *concretely*, gentlemen! You will then find that national oppression or antagonism explain nothing, because they have always existed in the western border regions, whereas partisan warfare has been engendered only by the present historical period. There are many places where there is national oppression and antagonism, but no partisan struggle, which sometimes develops where there is no national oppression whatever. A concrete analysis of the question will show that it is not a matter of national oppression, but of conditions of insurrection. Partisan warfare is an inevitable form of struggle at a time when the mass movement has actually reached the point of insurrection and when fairly large intervals occur between “major engagements” in the civil war.

It is not partisan acts which disorganize the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such acts *under its control*. That is why the anathemas which we Russians usually hurl against partisan acts are combined with secret, casual, unorganized partisan acts which really do disorganize the Party. Being incapable of understanding the historical conditions that give rise to this struggle, we are incapable of neutralizing its noxious aspects. Yet the struggle is going on. It is engendered by powerful economic and political causes. It is not in our power to eliminate these causes or to eliminate this struggle. Our complaints against partisan warfare are complaints against our party weakness in the matter of insurrection.

What we have said about disorganization applies also to demoralization. It is not partisan warfare which demoralizes, but *unorganized*, irregular, non-party partisan acts. We shall not rid ourselves one least bit of this *most unquestionable* demoralization by condemning and cursing partisan acts, for condemnation and curses are absolutely incapable of putting a stop to a phenomenon which has been engendered by profound economic and political causes. It may be objected that

if we are incapable of putting a stop to an abnormal and demoralizing phenomenon, this is no reason why the *Party* should adopt abnormal and demoralizing methods of struggle. But such an objection would be a purely bourgeois-liberal objection and not a Marxist objection, because a Marxist cannot *in general* regard civil war, or partisan warfare, which is one of its forms, as abnormal and demoralizing. A Marxist stands by class struggle, and not by social peace. In certain periods of acute economic and political crises the class struggle ripens into a direct civil war, *i.e.*, into an armed struggle between two sections of the people. In such periods a Marxist is *obliged* to favour civil war. Any moral condemnation of civil war would be absolutely impermissible from the standpoint of Marxism.

In the period of civil war the ideal party of the proletariat is a *fighting party*. This is absolutely incontrovertible. We are quite prepared to grant that it is possible to argue and prove the *inexpediency* from the standpoint of civil war of particular forms of civil war at any particular moment. We fully admit criticism of various forms of civil war from the standpoint of *military expediency* and absolutely agree that in *this* question it is the practical Social-Democratic workers in each particular locality who must have the deciding voice. But we absolutely demand in the name of the principles of Marxism that an analysis of the conditions of civil war should not be evaded by hackneyed and stereotyped phrases about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism, and that the senseless methods of partisan activity adopted by some organization or other of the Polish Socialist Party at some moment or other should not be used as a bugbear when discussing the very question of the participation of the Social-Democratic Party in partisan warfare in general.

The argument that partisan warfare disorganizes the movement must be regarded critically. *Every* new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and new sacrifices, inevitably "disorganizes" organizations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle. Our old propagandist circles were disorganized by recourse to methods of agitation. Our committees were subsequently disorganized by recourse to

demonstrations. Every military action in any war to a certain extent disorganizes the ranks of the fighters. But this does not mean that one must not fight. It means that one must *learn* to fight. That is all.

When I see Social-Democrats proudly and smugly declaring that they are not Anarchists, not thieves, not robbers, that they are superior to all this, that they reject partisan warfare. I ask myself: do these people realize what they are saying? Armed collisions and conflicts between the Black-Hundred government and the population are taking place all over the country. This is an absolutely inevitable phenomenon at the present stage of development of the revolution. The population is spontaneously and in an unorganized way—and for that very reason often in unfortunate and *undesirable* forms—reacting to this phenomenon also by armed conflicts and attacks. I can understand us refraining from Party leadership of *this* spontaneous struggle in a particular place or at a particular time because of the weakness and unpreparedness of our organization. I realize that this question must be settled by the local practical workers, and that the remoulding of weak and unprepared organizations is no easy matter. But when I see a Social-Democratic theoretician or publicist not displaying regret over this unpreparedness, but rather a proud smugness and a self-exalted tendency to repeat phrases learnt in early youth about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism, I am hurt by this degradation of the most revolutionary doctrine in the world.

It is said that partisan warfare approximates the class-conscious proletariat to the position of a degraded, drunken vagabond. That is true. But it only means that the party of the proletariat can never regard partisan warfare as the only, or even as the chief, method of struggle; it means that this method must be subordinated to other methods, that it must be made commensurable with the principal methods of warfare, and must be ennobled by the enlightening and organizing influence of Socialism. And without this *latter* condition, *every*, positively every, method of struggle in bourgeois society approximates the proletariat to the position of the various non-proletarian strata above and below it and, if left to the spontaneous course of events, becomes frayed, corrupted and

prostituted. Strikes, if left to the spontaneous course of events, become corrupted into "alliances"—agreements between the workers and the masters *against* the interests of the consumers. Parliament becomes corrupted into a brothel, where a gang of bourgeois politicians carry on a wholesale and retail trade in "national freedom," "liberalism," "democracy," republicanism, anti-clericalism, socialism and all the other saleable wares. A newspaper becomes corrupted into a public pimp, into a means of corrupting the masses, of pandering to the low instincts of the mob, and so on and so forth. Social-Democracy knows of no universal methods of struggle, such as would shut off the proletariat by a Chinese wall from the strata standing slightly above or slightly below it. At different periods Social-Democracy applies different methods, *always* qualifying the choice of them by *strictly* defined ideological and organizational conditions.¹

IV

The forms of struggle in the Russian revolution are distinguished by their great variety as compared with the bourgeois revolutions in Europe. Kautsky partly foretold this in 1902 when he said that the future revolution (with the exception *perhaps* of Russia, he added) would be not so much a struggle between the people and the government as a struggle between two sections of the people. In Russia we are undoubtedly

¹ The Bolshevik Social-Democrats are often accused of a frivolous passion for partisan acts. It would therefore not be amiss to recall that in the draft resolution on partisan acts, *the section* of the Bolsheviks who defend partisan acts advanced the following conditions for their recognition: "exes" [expropriations.—*Ed.*] of private property were not permitted under any circumstances; "exes" of government property were not recommended but only *allowed*, provided that they *were controlled by the Party* and their proceeds used *for the needs of insurrection*. Partisan acts in the form of terrorism were recommended against brutal government officials and active members of the Black-Hundreds, but on condition that 1) the sentiments of the masses be taken into account; 2) the conditions of the working-class movement in the given locality be reckoned with, and 3) care be taken that the forces of the proletariat should not be frittered away. The practical difference between this draft and the resolution which was adopted at the Unity Congress lies *exclusively* in the fact that "exes" of government property were not allowed.

witnessing a wider development of the *second* struggle than was the case in the bourgeois revolutions in the West. The enemies of our revolution among the people are few in number, but they are becoming more and more organized as the struggle becomes more acute and are receiving support from the reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie. It is therefore absolutely natural and inevitable that in *such* a period, a period of nationwide political strikes, *insurrection* cannot assume the old form of individual acts confined to very short intervals of time and to very limited areas. It is absolutely natural and inevitable that the insurrection should assume the higher and more complex form of a prolonged civil war embracing the whole country, *i.e.*, an armed struggle between two sections of the people. Such a war cannot be conceived otherwise than as a series of a few big engagements at comparatively long intervals and a large number of small collisions during these intervals. That being so—and it is undoubtedly so—the Social-Democrats must absolutely make it their duty to create organizations best adapted to lead the masses in these big engagements and as far as possible, in these small collisions as well. In a period when the class struggle has become accentuated to the point of civil war, Social-Democrats must make it their duty not only to participate but also to play the leading role in *this civil war*. The Social-Democrats must train and prepare their organizations to be really able to act as a *belligerent side* which does not lose a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the forces of the enemy.

This is a difficult task, there is no doubt about it. It cannot be accomplished at once. Just as the whole people are being retrained and are learning to fight in the course of the civil war, so our organizations must be trained, must be reconstructed in conformity with the lessons of experience for the performance of this task.

We have not the slightest intention of foisting on practical workers any artificial form of struggle, or even of deciding from our armchair what part any particular form of partisan warfare should play in the general course of the civil war in Russia. We are far from the thought of regarding a concrete judgment of particular partisan acts as indicative of a *trend*

in Social-Democracy. But we do regard it as our duty as far as possible to help to arrive at a correct *theoretical* judgment of the new forms of struggle engendered by practical life. We do regard it as our duty ruthlessly to combat the stereotypes and prejudices which hamper the class-conscious workers in correctly formulating a new and difficult problem and in correctly approaching its solution

October 1906

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS OF K. MARX TO L. KUGELMANN

Our aim in issuing as a separate pamphlet the full collection of Marx's letters to Kugelmann published in the German Social-Democratic weekly, *Neue Zeit*, is to acquaint the Russian public more closely with Marx and Marxism. As was to be expected, a good deal of space in Marx's correspondence is devoted to personal matters. For the biographer, this is exceedingly valuable material. But for the broad public in general, and for the Russian working class in particular, those passages in the letters which contain theoretical and political material are infinitely more important. It is particularly instructive for us, in the revolutionary period we are now passing through, carefully to study this material, which reveals Marx as a man who directly responded to all questions of the labour movement and world politics. The editors of the *Neue Zeit* were quite right when they remarked that "we are elevated by an acquaintance with the personality of men whose thoughts and wills took shape under conditions of great upheavals." Such an acquaintance is doubly necessary to the Russian Socialist in 1907, for it provides a wealth of very valuable indications concerning the direct tasks confronting the Socialists in every revolution passed through by his country. Russia is passing through a "great upheaval" at this very moment. Marx's policy in the comparatively stormy 'sixties should very often serve as a direct model for the policy of the Social-Democrat in the present Russian Revolution.

We shall therefore only very briefly note the passages in Marx's correspondence which are of particular importance from the theoretical standpoint, and shall deal in greater detail

with his revolutionary policy as a representative of the proletariat.

Of outstanding interest for a fuller and profounder understanding of Marxism is the letter of July 11, 1868.¹ In the form of polemical remarks against the vulgar Economists, Marx in this letter very clearly expounds his conception of what is called the "labour" theory of value. Those very objections to Marx's theory of value which naturally arise in the minds of the least trained readers of *Capital*, and which for this reason are most eagerly seized upon by the common or garden representatives of "professorial" bourgeois "science," are here analysed by Marx briefly, simply and with remarkable lucidity. Marx here shows the road he took and the road that should be taken to elucidate the law of value. He teaches us his *method*, using the most common objections as illustrations. He makes clear the connection between such a purely (it would seem) theoretical and abstract question as the theory of value and "the interests of the ruling classes," which are "*to perpetuate confusion.*" It is only to be hoped that everyone who begins to study Marx and to read *Capital* will read and re-read this letter when studying the first and most difficult chapters of *Capital*.

Other very interesting passages in the letters from the theoretical standpoint are those in which Marx passes judgment on diverse writers. When you read these opinions of Marx—vividly written, full of passion and revealing a profound interest in all the great ideological trends and their analysis—you feel that you are listening to the words of a great thinker. Apart from the remarks on Dietzgen made in passing, the comments on the Proudhonists deserve the particular attention of the reader.² The "brilliant" young bourgeois intellectuals who throw themselves "among the proletariat" at times of social upheaval and who are incapable of acquiring the standpoint of the working class or of carrying on persistent and serious work among the "rank and file" of the proletarian

¹ Cf. Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, Eng ed., 1934, pp. 73 et seq.—Ed.

² *Ibid*, pp 39-40—Ed

organizations, are depicted by a few strokes with remarkable vividness.

Take the comment on Dühring,¹ which, as it were, anticipates the contents of the famous *Anti-Dühring* written by Engels (in conjunction with Marx) nine years later. There is a Russian translation of this book by Zederbaum which is unfortunately guilty both of omissions and of mistakes and is simply a bad translation. Here, too, we have the comment on Thünen, which likewise touches on Ricardo's theory of rent. Marx had already, in 1868, emphatically rejected "Ricardo's mistakes," which he finally refuted in Volume III of *Capital*, published in 1894, but which to this very day are repeated by the revisionists—from our ultra-bourgeois and even "Black-Hundred" Mr. Bulgakov to the "almost orthodox" Maslov.

Interesting also is the comment on Büchner, with the judgment of vulgar materialism and the "superficial nonsense" copied from Lange (the usual source of "professorial" bourgeois philosophy!)²

Let us pass to Marx's revolutionary policy. A certain petty-bourgeois conception of Marxism is surprisingly current among Social-Democrats in Russia according to which a revolutionary period, with its specific forms of struggle and its special proletarian tasks, is almost an anomaly, while a "constitution" and an "extreme opposition" are the rule. In no other country in the world at this moment is there such a profound revolutionary crisis as in Russia—and in no other country are there "Marxists" (belittling and vulgarizing Marxism) who take up such a sceptical and philistine attitude towards the revolution. From the fact that the content of the revolution is bourgeois the shallow conclusion is drawn in our country that the bourgeoisie is the *driving force* of the revolution, that the tasks of the proletariat in this revolution are of an auxiliary and not independent character and that proletarian leadership of the revolution is impossible.

How excellently Marx, in his letters to Kugelmann, exposes

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.—Ed.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80 Ed.

this shallow interpretation of Marxism! Here is a letter dated April 6, 1866. At that time Marx had finished his principal work. He had already given his final judgment on the German Revolution of 1848 fourteen years before this letter was written. He had himself, in 1850, renounced his socialistic illusions that a Socialist revolution was impending in 1848. And in 1866, when only just beginning to observe the growth of new political crises, he writes:

"Will our philistines [he is referring to the German bourgeois liberals] at last realize that without a revolution which removes the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns... there must finally come another Thirty Years' War...!"¹

Not a shadow of illusion here that the impending revolution (it took place from above and not from below as Marx had expected) would remove the bourgeoisie and capitalism, but a most clear and precise statement that it would remove only the Prussian and Austrian monarchies. And what faith in this bourgeois revolution! What revolutionary passion of a proletarian fighter who realizes the vast significance of a bourgeois revolution for the advance of the Socialist movement!

Three years later, on the eve of the downfall of the Napoleonic Empire in France, drawing attention to "a very interesting" social movement, Marx says in a *positive outburst of enthusiasm* that "the Parisians are making a regular study of their recent revolutionary past, in order to prepare themselves for the business of the impending new revolution."² And describing the struggle of classes revealed in this study of the past, Marx concludes: "And so the whole historic witches' cauldron is bubbling. When shall *we* [in Germany] be so far!"³

Such is the lesson that should be learned from Marx by the Russian intellectual Marxists, who are debilitated by scepticism, dulled by pedantry, have a penchant for penitent speeches, rapidly tire of revolution, and who yearn, as for a

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.—Ed

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.—Ed

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.—Ed.

holiday, for the interment of the revolution and its replacement by constitutional prose. They should learn from the theoretician and leader of the proletarians faith in the revolution, the ability to call on the working class to uphold its immediate revolutionary aims to the last, and the firmness of spirit which admits of no faint-hearted whimpering after temporary setbacks of the revolution.

The pedants of Marxism think that this is all ethical twaddle, romanticism and lack of a sense of reality! No, gentlemen, this is the combination of revolutionary theory and revolutionary policy without which Marxism becomes Brentanoism, Struivism and Sombartism. The Marxian doctrine has bound the theory and practice of the class struggle into one inseparable whole. And whoever distorts a theory which soberly presents the objective situation into a justification of the existing order and goes to the length of striving to adapt himself as quickly as possible to every temporary decline in the revolution, to discard "revolutionary illusions" as quickly as possible and to turn to "realistic" tinkering, is no Marxist.

During the most peaceful, seemingly "idyllic," as Marx expressed it, and "wretchedly stagnant" (as the *Neue Zeit* put it) times, Marx was able to sense the approach of revolution and to rouse the proletariat to the consciousness of its advanced revolutionary tasks. Our Russian intellectuals, who, like philistines, vulgarize Marx, teach the proletariat in most revolutionary times a policy of passivity, of submissively drifting "with the stream," of timidly supporting the most unstable elements of the fashionable liberal party!

Marx's appreciation of the Commune crowns the letters to Kugelmann. And this appreciation is particularly valuable when compared with the methods of Russian Social-Democrats of the Right wing. Plekhanov, who after December 1905 faint-heartedly exclaimed: "They should not have taken to arms," had the modesty to compare himself to Marx. Marx, he implied, also put the brakes on the revolution in 1870.

Yes, Marx also put the brakes on the revolution. But see what a gulf yawns between Plekhanov and Marx in this comparison made by Plekhanov himself!

In November 1905, a month before the first revolutionary wave had reached its apex, Plekhanov, far from emphatically warning the proletariat, definitely said that it was necessary *to learn to use arms and to arm*. Yet, when the struggle flared up a month later, Plekhanov, without making the slightest attempt to analyse its significance, its role in the general course of events and its connection with previous forms of struggle, hastened to play the part of a penitent intellectual and exclaimed: "They should not have taken to arms."

In September 1870, *six months before* the Commune, Marx definitely warned the French workers: Insurrection would be a *desperate folly*, he said in the well-known Address of the International. He revealed *in advance* the nationalistic illusions concerning the possibility of a movement in the spirit of 1792. He was able to say, *not after the event*, but many months before: "Don't take to arms."

And how did he behave when this *hopeless* cause, as he himself had declared it to be in September, began to take practical shape in March 1871? Did he use it (as Plekhanov did the December events) to "take a dig" at his enemies, the Proudhonists and Blanquists who led the Commune? Did he begin to scold like a schoolmistress, and say: "I told you so, I warned you; this is what comes of your romanticism, your revolutionary ravings"? Did he preach to the Communards, as Plekhanov did to the December fighters, the sermon of the smug philistine: "You should not have taken to arms"?

No. On April 12, 1871, Marx writes an *enthusiastic* letter to Kugelmann—a letter which we would like to see hung in the home of every Russian Social-Democrat and of every literate Russian worker.

In September 1870 Marx called the insurrection a desperate folly; but in April 1871, when he saw the mass movement of the people, he observed it with the keen attention of a participant in great events that mark a step forward in the world-historic revolutionary movement.

This is an *attempt*, he says, to smash the bureaucratic military machine and not simply to transfer it from one hand to another. And he sings a veritable hosanna to the "*heroic*"

Paris workers led by the Proudhonists and Blanquists. "What elasticity," he writes, "what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!... History has no like example of a like greatness."¹

The *historical initiative* of the masses is what Marx prizes above everything else. Oh, if only our Russian Social-Democrats would learn from Marx how to appreciate the *historical initiative* of the Russian workers and peasants in October and December 1905!

The homage paid to the *historical initiative* of the masses by a profound thinker, who foresaw failure six months before—and the lifeless, soulless, pedantic: "They should not have taken to arms!" Are these not as far apart as heaven and earth?

And like a *participant* in the mass struggle, to which he reacted with all his characteristic ardour and passion, Marx, living in exile in London, sets to work to criticize the *immediate steps* of the "foolishly brave" Parisians who were *ready to "storm heaven."*

Oh, how our present "realist" wiseacres among the Marxists who are deriding revolutionary romanticism in Russia in 1906-07 would have sneered at Marx at the time! How people would have scoffed at a *materialist*, an *economist*, an enemy of utopias, who pays homage to an "attempt" to storm heaven! What tears, condescending smiles or commiseration these "men in mufflers"² would have bestowed upon him for his rebel tendencies, utopianism, etc., etc., and for his appreciation of a heaven-storming movement!

But Marx was not inspired with the wisdom of gudgeons³ who are afraid to discuss the *technique* of the higher forms of revolutionary struggle. He discusses precisely the *technical* problems of the insurrection. Defence or attack?—he asks. as

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 123.—*Fd.*

² "Men in Mufflers"—narrow-minded, hide-bound conservatives who stubbornly persist in shutting their eyes to the actual conditions of life. From the character depicted in the story by A. Chekhov entitled "The Man in a Muffler."—*Ed.*

³ From the story by the well-known Russian satirist M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin—"The Wise Gudgeon." The term denotes a terrified philistine who is afraid to crawl out of his nook in fear for his life.—*Ed.*

if the military operations were taking place just outside London. And he decides that it must certainly be attack: "*They should have marched at once on Versailles...*"

This was written in April 1871, a few weeks before the great and bloody May...

"They should have marched at once on Versailles"—should the insurgents who had begun the "desperate folly" (September 1870) of storming heaven.

"They should not have taken to arms" in December 1905 in order to oppose by force the first attempts to withdraw the liberties that had been won...

Yes, Plekhanov had good reason to compare himself to Marx!

"Second mistake," Marx says, continuing his *technical* criticism: "The Central Committee [the *military command*—note this—the reference is to the Central Committee of the National Guard] surrendered its power *too soon...*"

Marx knew how to warn the *leaders* against a premature rising. But his attitude towards the *proletariat* which was storming heaven was that of a practical adviser, of a participant in the *struggle* of the masses, who were raising the *whole* movement to a *higher level* in spite of the false theories and mistakes of Blanqui and Proudhon.

"However that may be," he writes, "the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society— is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection."

And Marx, without concealing from the proletariat a *single* mistake of the Commune, dedicated to this *deed* a work which to this very day serves as the best guide in the fight for "heaven" and as a frightful bugbear to the liberal and radical "*swine*."

Plekhanov dedicated to the December events a "work" which has almost become the bible of the Constitutional-Democrats.

Yes, Plekhanov had good reason to compare himself to Marx.

Kugelmann apparently replied to Marx expressing certain doubts, referring to the hopelessness of the matter and prefer-

ring realism to romanticism—at any rate, he compared the Commune, an *insurrection*, to the peaceful demonstration in Paris on June 13, 1849.

Marx immediately (April 17, 1871) reads Kugelmann a severe lecture.

“World history,” he writes, “*would indeed be very easy to make, if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances.*”¹

In September 1870 Marx called the insurrection a desperate folly. But when the *masses* rose Marx wanted to march with them, to learn with them in the process of the struggle, and not to read them bureaucratic admonitions. He realizes that to attempt in advance to calculate the chances *with complete accuracy* would be quackery or hopeless pedantry. What he values *above everything else* is that the working class heroically and self-sacrificingly takes the initiative in *making* world history. Marx regarded world history from the standpoint of *those who make* it without being in a position to calculate the chances *infallibly* beforehand, and not from the standpoint of an intellectual philistine who moralizes: “It was easy to foresee . . . they should not have taken to . . .”

Marx was also able to appreciate that there are moments in history when the desperate struggle of the *masses* even for a hopeless cause is *essential* for the further schooling of these masses and their training for the *next* struggle.

Such a *statement* of the question is quite incomprehensible and even alien in principle to our present-day quasi-Marxists, who love to take the name of Marx in vain, to borrow only his estimate of the past, and not his ability to make the future. Plekhanov did not even think of it when he set out after December 1905 “*to put the brakes on.*”

But it is precisely this question that Marx raises, without in the least forgetting that he himself in September 1870 regarded insurrection as a desperate folly.

“... The bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles,” he writes, “... presented the Parisians with the alternative of taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. In the latter case,

¹ (f. Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, Eng. ed., 1934, p. 125.—Ed

the *demoralization of the working class* would have been a *far greater* misfortune than the fall of any number of 'leaders.' "

And with this we shall conclude our brief review of the lessons in a policy worthy of the proletariat which Marx teaches in his letters to Kugelmann.

The working class of Russia has already proved once and will prove again more than once that it is capable of "storming heaven."

February 1907

**PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF
LETTERS BY J. F. BECKER, J. DIETZGEN,
F. ENGELS, K. MARX AND OTHERS TO
F. A. SORGE AND OTHERS**

The collection of letters by Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, Becker and other leaders of the international labour movement of the past century here presented to the Russian public is a needed addition to our advanced Marxist literature.

We will not dwell in detail here on the importance of these letters for the history of Socialism and for a comprehensive treatment of the activities of Marx and Engels. This aspect of the matter requires no explanation. We shall only note that an understanding of the published letters necessitates an acquaintance with the principal works on the history of the International (see Jaeckh, *The International*, Russian translation in the *Znaniye* edition), on the history of the German and American labour movements (see Fr. Mehring, *History of German Social-Democracy*, and Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in America*), etc.

Neither do we intend here to attempt a general outline of the contents of this correspondence or to express an opinion about the importance of the various historical periods to which it relates. Mehring has done this extremely well in his article. *Der Sorgesche Briefwechsel* (*Neue Zeit*, 25. Jahrg., Nr. 1 und 2),¹ which will probably be appended by the publisher to the present translation or will be issued as a separate Russian publication.

¹ "The Sorge Correspondence," *Neue Zeit*, 25th year, Nos. 1 and 2. Ed

The lessons which the militant proletariat must draw from an acquaintance with the intimate sides of Marx's and Engels' activities over the course of nearly thirty years (1867-1895) are of particular interest to Russian Socialists in the present revolutionary period. It is, therefore, not surprising that the first attempts made in our Social-Democratic literature to acquaint the readers with Marx's and Engels' letters to Sorge were also linked up with the "burning" issues of Social-Democratic tactics in the Russian Revolution (Plekhanov's *Sovremennaya Zhizn* and the Menshevik *Otkliki*). And it is to an appreciation of those passages in the published correspondence which are specially important from the point of view of the present tasks of the workers' party in Russia that we intend to draw the attention of our readers.

Marx and Engels deal most frequently in their letters with the burning questions of the British, American and German labour movements. This is natural, because they were Germans who at that time lived in England and corresponded with their American comrade. Marx expressed himself much more frequently and in much greater detail on the French labour movement, and particularly on the Paris Commune, in the letters he wrote to the German Social-Democrat, Kugelmann.¹

It is highly instructive to compare what Marx and Engels said of the British, American and German labour movements. The comparison acquires all the greater importance when we remember that Germany on the one hand, and England and America on the other, represent different stages of capitalist development and different forms of domination of the bourgeoisie as a class over the entire political life of these countries. From the scientific standpoint, what we observe here is a sample of materialist dialectics, of the ability to bring out and stress the various points and various sides of the question in accordance with the specific peculiarities of varying political and economic conditions. From the standpoint of the practical policy and tactics of the workers' party, what we see here is a sample of the way in which the creators of the *Communist*

¹ See *Letters of Karl Marx to Dr. Kugelmann*, translation edited by N. Lenin, with a foreword by the editor, St. Petersburg, 1907. (Cf. pp. 176-85 of this book.—Ed.)

Manifesto defined the tasks of the fighting proletariat in accordance with the varying stages of the national labour movement in various countries.

What Marx and Engels most of all criticize in British and American Socialism is its isolation from the labour movement. The burden of all their numerous comments on the Social-Democratic Federation in England and on the American Socialists is the accusation that they have reduced Marxism to a dogma, to a "rigid (*starre*) orthodoxy," that they consider it "a *credo* and not a *guide to action*,"¹ that they are incapable of adapting themselves to the labour movement marching side by side with them, which, although helpless theoretically, is a living and powerful mass movement. "Had we from 1864 to 1873 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform," Engels exclaims in his letter of January 27, 1887, "where should we be today?"² And in an earlier letter (December 28, 1886), in reference to the influence of the ideas of Henry George on the American working class, he writes:

"A million or two of workingmen's votes next November for a *bona fide* workingmen's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform."³

These are very interesting passages. There are Social-Democrats in our country who hastened to make use of them in defence of the idea of a "labour congress" or something in the nature of Larin's "broad labour party."⁴ Why not in defence of a "Left bloc"? we would ask these precipitate "utilizers" of Engels. The letters from which the quotations are taken relate to a time when the American workers voted at the elections for Henry George. Mrs. Wischnewetzky—an American

¹ *Marx-Engels Selected Correspondence*, p. 450.—Ed.

² *Ibid.*, p. 455.—Ed.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 454.—Ed.

⁴ In 1907 the Menshevik Larin strongly advocated the convening of a "labour congress" (at which the Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Anarchists should be represented) the set purpose of which was to form a "broad labour party." Lenin exposed this Menshevik proposal to liquidate the Social-Democratic Labour Party as a pernicious attempt to absorb the vanguard of the working class in the petty-bourgeois mass.—Ed

woman who married a Russian and who translated Engels' works—asked him, as may be seen from Engels' reply, to make a thorough criticism of Henry George. Engels writes (December 28, 1886) that *the time has not yet come* for that, for it is necessary that the workers' party begin to organize itself, even if on a not entirely pure program. Later on the workers would themselves come to understand what is amiss, "would learn from their own mistakes," but "anything that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the workingmen's party—no matter what platform—I should consider a great mistake. . . ."¹

Engels, of course, perfectly understood and frequently pointed out the utter absurdity and *reactionary character* of the ideas of Henry George from the *Socialist* standpoint. In the Sorge correspondence there is a most interesting letter from Karl Marx dated June 20, 1881, in which he characterizes Henry George as an ideologist of the *radical bourgeoisie*. "Theoretically, the man [Henry George] is utterly backward (*total arrière*)," wrote Marx. Yet Engels was not afraid to join with this *Socialist reactionary* in the elections, provided there were people who could warn the masses of "the consequences of their own mistakes" (Engels, in the letter dated November 29, 1886).

Regarding the Knights of Labour, an organization of American workers existing at that time, Engels wrote in the same letter: "The weakest [literally: rottenest, *faulste*] side of the K. of L. was their *political neutrality*. . . . The first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the organization of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party."²

It is obvious that absolutely nothing in defence of a leap from Social-Democracy to a non-party labour congress, etc., can be deduced from this. But whoever wants to escape Engels' accusation of degrading Marxism to a "dogma," "orthodoxy," "sectarianism," etc., must conclude from this that a joint elec-

¹ *Marx-Engels Selected Correspondence*, pp. 453-54.—Ed.

² *Ibid.*, p. 450.—Ed.

tion campaign with radical "social-reactionaries" is sometimes permissible.

But what is more interesting, of course, is to dwell not so much on these American-Russian parallels (we had to refer to them so as to answer our opponents), as on the *fundamental* features of the British and American labour movement. These features are: the absence of any at all big, nation-wide, *democratic* problems facing the proletariat; the complete subjection of the proletariat to bourgeois politics; the sectarian isolation of groups, handfuls of Socialists from the proletariat; not the slightest success of the Socialists at the elections among the working masses, etc. Whoever forgets these fundamental conditions and sets out to draw broad conclusions from "American-Russian parallels," displays extreme superficiality.

Engels lays so much stress on the economic organizations of the workers in such conditions because he is dealing with the most firmly established democratic systems, which confront the proletariat with purely Socialist tasks.

Engels stresses the importance of an independent workers' party, even though with a bad program, because he is dealing with countries where hitherto there had not been even a hint of political independence of the workers, where, in politics, the workers most of all dragged, and still drag, after the bourgeoisie.

It would be ridiculing Marx's historical method to attempt to apply the conclusions drawn from such arguments to countries or historical situations where the proletariat had formed its party before the bourgeois liberals had formed theirs, where the tradition of voting for bourgeois politicians is absolutely unknown to the proletariat, and where the next immediate tasks are not Socialist but bourgeois-democratic.

Our idea will become even clearer to the reader if we compare the opinions of Engels on the British and American movements with his opinions on the German movement.

Such opinions, and extremely interesting ones at that, also abound in the published correspondence. And what runs like a red thread through all these opinions is something quite different, namely, a warning against the "Right wing" of the workers' party, a merciless (sometimes—as with Marx in

1877-79—a furious) war upon opportunism in Social-Democracy.

Let us first corroborate this by quotations from the letters, and then proceed to a judgment of this phenomenon.

First of all, we must here note the opinions expressed by Marx on Höchberg and Co. Fr. Mehring, in his article *Der Sorgesche Briefwechsel*, attempts to tone down Marx's attacks, as well as Engels' later attacks on the opportunists—and, in our opinion, rather overdoes the attempt. As regards Höchberg and Co. in particular, Mehring insists on his view that Marx's judgment of Lassalle and the Lassalleans was incorrect. But, we repeat, what interests us here is not an historical judgment of whether Marx's attacks on particular Socialists were correct or exaggerated, but Marx's judgment in principle on definite currents in Socialism in general.

While complaining about the compromises of the German Social-Democrats with the Lassalleans and with Dühring (letter of October 19, 1877), Marx also condemns the compromise "with the whole gang of half-mature students and super-wise doctors" ("doctor" in German is a scientific degree corresponding to our "candidate" or "university graduate, class I"), who want to give Socialism a "higher idealistic" orientation, that is to say, to replace its materialistic basis (which demands serious objective study from anyone who tries to use it) by modern mythology, with its goddesses of Justice, Freedom, Equality and Fraternity. One of the representatives of this tendency is the publisher of the Journal *Zukunft*, Dr. Höchberg, who "bought himself in" to the Party—"with 'the noblest' intentions, I assume, but I do not give a damn for 'intentions.' Anything more miserable [than the program of his *Zukunft*] has seldom seen the light of day with more 'modest' 'presumption.'"¹

In another letter, written almost two years later (September 19, 1879), Marx rebuts the gossip that Engels and he were behind *J. Most*, and he gives Sorge a detailed account of his attitude towards the opportunists in the German Social-Demo-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 350 - *Ed.*

cratic Party. The *Zukunft* was run by Höchberg, Schramm and Ed. Bernstein. Marx and Engels *refused* to have anything to do with such a publication, and when the question was raised of establishing a new Party organ with the participation of this same Höchberg and with his financial assistance, Marx and Engels first demanded the acceptance of their nominee, Hirsch, as responsible editor to exercise control over this "mixture of doctors, students and professorial-Socialists" and then directly addressed a circular letter to Bebel, Liebknecht and other leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, warning them that they would openly combat "such a vulgarization (*Verluderung*—an even stronger word in German) of theory and Party," unless the tendency of Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein changed.

This was the period in the German Social-Democratic Party which Mehring described in his *History* as "a year of confusion" (*Ein Jahr der Verwirrung*). After the Anti-Socialist Law, the Party did not at once find the right path, first succumbing to the anarchism of Most and the opportunism of Höchberg and Co. "These people," Marx writes of the latter, "nonentities in theory and useless in practice, want to draw the teeth of Socialism (which they have corrected in accordance with the university recipes) and particularly of the Social-Democratic Party, to enlighten the workers, or, as they put it, to imbue them with 'elements of education' from their confused half-knowledge, and above all to make the Party respectable in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie. They are just wretched counter-revolutionary windbags."

The result of Marx's "furious" attack was that the opportunists retreated and—effaced themselves. In a letter of November 19, 1879, Marx announces that Höchberg has been removed from the editorial committee and that all the influential leaders of the Party—Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke, etc.—have *repudiated* his ideas. The Social-Democratic Party organ, the *Social-Democrat*, began to appear under the editorship of Vollmar, who at that time belonged to the revolutionary wing of the Party. A year later (November 5, 1880), Marx relates that he and Engels constantly fought the "miserable" way in which the *Social-Democrat* was conducted and often expressed their opinion *sharply* (*wobei's oft scharf hergeht*). Liebknecht visited

Marx in 1880 and promised that there would be an "improvement" in all respects.

Peace was restored, and the war never came out into the open. Höchberg retired, and Bernstein became a revolutionary Social-Democrat—at least until the death of Engels in 1895.

On June 20, 1882, Engels writes to Sorge and speaks of this struggle as already a thing of the past: "In general, things in Germany are going splendidly. It is true that the literary gentlemen in the Party tried to cause a reactionary swing, but they failed ignominiously. The abuse to which the Social-Democratic workers are being everywhere subjected has made them everywhere more revolutionary than they were three years ago. . . . These gentlemen [the Party literary people] wanted at all costs to beg for the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law by mildness and meekness, fawning and humility, because it had summarily deprived them of their literary earnings. As soon as the law is repealed . . . the split will apparently become an open one, and the Vierecks and Höchbergs will form a separate Right wing, where they can be treated with from time to time until they definitely come a cropper. We announced this immediately after the passage of the Anti-Socialist Law, when Höchberg and Schramm published in the *Jahrbuch* what was under the circumstances a most infamous judgment of the work of the Party and demanded more cultivated (*jebildetes* instead of *gebildetes*. Engels is alluding to the Berlin accent of the German literary people), refined and elegant behaviour of the Party."

This forecast of a Bernsteinian made in 1882 was strikingly confirmed in 1898 and subsequent years.

And since then, and particularly after Marx's death, Engels, it may be said without exaggeration, was untiring in his efforts to straighten out what the German opportunists had distorted.

The end of 1884. The "petty-bourgeois prejudices" of the German Social-Democratic Reichstag deputies, who voted for the steamship subsidy (*Dampfersubvestion*, see Mehring's *History*) are condemned. Engels informs Sorge that he has to correspond a great deal on this subject (letter of December 31, 1884).

1885. Giving his opinion of the whole business of the

Dampfersubvention, Engels writes (June 3) that "it almost came to a split." The "philistinism" of the Social-Democratic *deputies was "colossal." "A petty-bourgeois Socialist fraction is inevitable in a country like Germany," Engels says.

1887. Engels replies to Sorge who had written that the Party was disgracing itself by electing such deputies as Viebeck (a Social-Democrat of the Höchberg type). There is nothing to be done—Engels excuses himself—the workers' party cannot find good deputies for the Reichstag. "The gentlemen of the Right wing know that they are being tolerated only because of the Anti-Socialist Law, and that they will be thrown out of the Party the very day the Party secures freedom of action again." And, in general, it is preferable that "the Party be better than its parliamentary heroes, than the other way round" (March 3, 1887). Liebknecht is a conciliator—Engels complains—he always glosses over differences by phrases. But when it comes to a split, he will be with us at the decisive moment.

1889. Two International Social-Democratic Congresses in Paris. The opportunists (headed by the French possibilists) split away from the revolutionary Social-Democrats. Engels (he was then sixty-eight years old) flings himself into the fight like a young man. A number of letters (from January 12 to July 20, 1889), are devoted to the fight against the opportunists. Not only they, but also the Germans—Liebknecht, Bebel and others—are flagellated for their conciliationism.

The possibilists have sold themselves to the government, writes Engels on January 12, 1889. And he accuses the members of the British Social-Democratic Federation of having allied themselves with the possibilists. "The writing and running about in connection with this damned congress leave me no time for anything else." (May 11, 1889.) The possibilists are busy, but our people are asleep, Engels writes angrily. Now even Auer and Schippel are demanding that we attend the possibilist congress. But this "at last" opened Liebknecht's eyes. Engels, together with Bernstein, writes pamphlets (signed by Bernstein—Engels calls them "our pamphlets") against the opportunists. "With the exception of the S.D.F., the possibilists have not a single Socialist organization on their side in the

whole of Europe. [June 8, 1889.] They are, consequently, falling back on the non-Socialist trade unions [let the advocates of a broad labour party, of a labour congress, etc., in our country take note!]. From America they will get one *Knight of Labour*." The opponent is the same as in the fight against the Bakunists: "Only with this difference that the banner of the Anarchists has been replaced by the banner of the possibilists. There is the same selling of principles to the bourgeoisie for concessions in retail, namely, for well-paid jobs for the leaders (on the town councils, labour exchanges, etc.)." Brousse (the leader of the possibilists) and Hyndman (the leader of the S.D.F. which had united with the possibilists) attack "authoritarian Marxism" and want to form the "nucleus of a new International."

"You can have no idea of the naïveté of the Germans. It has cost me tremendous effort to explain even to Bebel what it really all means." (June 8, 1889.) And when the two congresses met, when the revolutionary Social-Democrats numerically exceeded the possibilists (*united with the trade unionists*, the S.D.F., a section of the Austrians, etc.), Engels was jubilant (July 17, 1889). He was glad that the conciliatory plans and proposals of Liebknecht and others had failed (July 20, 1889). "It serves our sentimental conciliatory brethren right, that for all their amicableness, they received a good kick in their tenderest spot. This will cure them for some time."

... Mehring was right when he said (*Der Sorgenache Briefwechsel*) that Marx and Engels had not much of an idea of "good manners": "If they did not think long over every blow they dealt, neither did they whimper over every blow they received. 'If you think that your pinpricks can pierce my old, well-tanned and thick hide, you are mistaken,' Engels once wrote." And the imperviousness they had themselves acquired they attributed to others as well, says Mehring of Marx and Engels.

1893. The flagellation of the "Fabians," which suggests itself—when passing judgment on the Bernsteinites (for was it not with the "Fabians" in England that Bernstein "reared" his opportunism?). "The Fabians are an ambitious group here in London who have understanding enough to realize the inevi-

tability of the social revolution, but who could not possibly entrust this gigantic task to the rough proletariat alone and are therefore kind enough to set themselves at the head. Fear of the revolution is their fundamental principle. They are the 'educated' *par excellence*. Their socialism is municipal socialism; not the nation but the municipality is to become the owner of the means of production, at any rate for the time being. This socialism of theirs is then represented as an extreme but inevitable consequence of bourgeois Liberalism, and hence follow their tactics of not decisively opposing the Liberals as adversaries but of pushing them on towards Socialist conclusions and therefore of intriguing with them, of 'permeating Liberalism with Socialism,' of not putting up Socialist candidates against the Liberals, but of fastening them on to the Liberals, forcing them upon them, or deceiving them into taking them. That in the course of this process they are either lied to and deceived themselves or else betray Socialism, they do not of course realize.

"With great industry they have produced amid all sorts of rubbish some good propagandist writings as well, in fact the best of the kind which the English have produced. But as soon as they get on to their specific tactics of hushing up the class struggle it all turns putrid. Hence too their fanatical hatred of Marx and all of us — because of the class struggle.

"These people have of course many bourgeois followers and therefore money..."¹

A CLASSICAL JUDGMENT OF THE OPPORTUNISM OF THE INTELLECTUALS IN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

1894. The Peasant Question. "On the Continent," Engels writes on November 10, 1894, "success is developing the appetite for more success, and catching the peasant, in the literal sense of the word, is becoming the fashion. First the French in Nantes declare through Lafargue not only . . . that it is not our business to hasten . . . the ruin of the small peasant which capitalism is seeing to for us, but they also add that we must

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 505-06.—*Ed.*

directly *protect* the small peasant against taxation, usurers and landlords. But we cannot co-operate in this, first because it is stupid and second because it is impossible. Next, however, Vollmar comes along in Frankfurt, and wants to bribe the *peasantry as a whole*, though the peasant he has to do with in Upper Bavaria is not the debt-laden poor peasant of the Rhineland but the middle and even the big peasant, who exploits his men and women farm servants and sells cattle and grain in masses. And that cannot be done without giving up the whole principle."¹

1894, December 4.

"... The Bavarians, who have become very, very opportunistic and have almost turned into an ordinary people's party (that is to say, the majority of leaders and many of those who have recently joined the Party), voted in the Bavarian Diet for the budget as a whole; and Vollmar in particular has started an agitation among the peasants with the object of winning the Upper Bavarian big peasants—people who own 25 to 80 acres of land (10 to 30 hectares) and who therefore cannot manage without wage-labourers—instead of winning their farmhands."

We thus see that for more than ten years Marx and Engels systematically and unswervingly fought opportunism in the German Social-Democratic Party and attacked intellectual philistinism and petty-bourgeoisdom in Socialism. This is an extremely important fact. The general public knows that German Social-Democracy is regarded as a model of Marxist proletarian policy and tactics, but it does not know what a constant war the founders of Marxism had to wage against the "Right wing" (Engels' expression) of that party. And it is no accident that soon after Engels' death this war turned from a concealed war into an open war. This was an inevitable result of the decades of historical development of German Social-Democracy.

And now we very clearly perceive the two lines of Engels' (and Marx's) recommendations, directions, corrections, threats and exhortations. They most insistently called upon the British and American Socialists to merge with the labour movement and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 525.—Ed.

to eradicate the narrow and hidebound sectarian spirit from their organizations. They most insistently taught the German Social-Democrats to beware of succumbing to philistinism, to parliamentary idiotism" (Marx's expression in the letter of September 19, 1879), to petty-bourgeois intellectual opportunism.

Is it not characteristic that our Social-Democratic gossips have noisily proclaimed the recommendations of the first kind and have kept their mouths shut, have remained silent over the recommendations of the second kind? Is not *such* one-sidedness in appraising Marx's and Engels' letters the best indication, in a sense, of our, Russian Social-Democratic . . . "one-sidedness"?

At the present moment, when the international labour movement is displaying symptoms of profound ferment and wavering, when extremes of opportunism, "parliamentary idiotism" and philistine reformism have evoked opposite extremes of revolutionary syndicalism, the general line of Marx's and Engels' "amendments" to British and American Socialism and German Socialism acquires exceptional importance.

In countries where there are *no* Social-Democratic workers' parties, *no* Social-Democratic members of parliament, *no* systematic and consistent Social-Democratic policy either at elections or in the press, etc., Marx and Engels taught that the Socialists must *at all costs* rid themselves of narrow sectarianism and *join* with the labour movement so as to *shake up* the proletariat *politically*, for in the last third of the nineteenth century the proletariat displayed *almost no* political independence either in England or America. In these countries—where historical bourgeois-democratic tasks were almost entirely absent—the political arena was *wholly* filled by the triumphant and self-complacent bourgeoisie, which in the art of deceiving, corrupting and bribing the workers has no equal anywhere in the world.

To think that these recommendations of Marx and Engels to the British and American labour movement can be simply and directly applied to Russian conditions is to use Marxism not in order to comprehend its *method*, not in order to *study* the concrete historical peculiarities of the labour movement in

definite countries, but in order to settle petty factional, intellectual accounts.

On the other hand, in a country where the bourgeois-democratic revolution was still incomplete, where "military despotism, embellished with parliamentary forms" (Marx's expression in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*) prevailed, and still prevails, where the proletariat had long ago been drawn into politics and was pursuing a Social-Democratic policy, what Marx and Engels feared most of all in such a country was parliamentary vulgarization and philistine debasement of the tasks and scope of the labour movement.

It is all the more our duty to emphasize and advance *this* side of Marxism in the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia because in our country a large, "brilliant" and rich bourgeois-liberal press is vociferously trumpeting to the proletariat the "exemplary" loyalty, the parliamentary legalism, the modesty and moderation of the neighbouring German labour movement.

This mercenary lie of the bourgeois betrayers of the Russian Revolution is not due to accident or to the personal depravity of certain past or future ministers in the Cadet camp. It is due to the profound economic interests of the Russian liberal landlords and liberal bourgeois. And in combating this lie, this "making the masses stupid" (*Massenverdummung*—Engels' expression in his letter of November 29, 1886), the letters of Marx and Engels should serve as an indispensable weapon for all Russian Socialists.

The mercenary lie of the bourgeois liberals holds up to the people the exemplary "modesty" of the German Social-Democrats. The leaders of these Social-Democrats, the founders of the theory of Marxism, tell us:

"The revolutionary language and action of the French has made the whining of the Vierecks and Co. [the opportunist Social-Democrats in the German Reichstag Social-Democratic fraction] sound quite feeble [the reference is to the formation of a labour party in the French Chamber and to the Decazeville strike, which split the French Radicals from the French proletariat], and only Liebknecht and Bebel spoke in the last debate . . . and both of them spoke well. We can with this de-

bate once more show ourselves in decent society, which was by no means the case with all of them. In general it is a good thing that the leadership of the Germans [of the international social movement], particularly after they sent so many philistines to the Reichstag (which, it is true, was unavoidable), has become rather disputable. *In Germany everything becomes philistine in peaceful times*; and therefore the sting of French competition is *absolutely necessary*..." (Letter of April 29, 1886)

Such are the lessons which must be drawn most firmly of all by the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party which is ideologically dominated by the influence of German Social-Democracy.

These lessons are taught us not by any particular passage in the correspondence of the greatest men of the nineteenth century, but by the whole spirit and substance of their comradely and frank criticism of the international experience of the proletariat a criticism which shunned diplomacy and petty considerations

How far all the letters of Marx and Engels were indeed imbued with this spirit may also be seen from the following passages which it is true are, relatively speaking, of a particular nature, but which on the other hand are highly characteristic.

In 1889 a young, fresh movement of untrained and unskilled labourers (gasworkers, dockers, etc.) began in England, a movement marked by a new and revolutionary spirit. Engels was delighted with it. He refers exultingly to the part played by Tussy, Marx's daughter, who agitated among these workers "The most repulsive thing here," he says, writing from London on December 7, 1889, "is the bourgeois 'respectability' which has grown deep into the bones of the workers. The division of society into a scale of innumerable degrees, each recognized without question, each with its own pride but also with its native respect for its 'betters' and 'superiors,' is so old and firmly established that the bourgeois still find it pretty easy to get their bait accepted. I am not at all sure, for instance, that John Burns is not secretly prouder of his popularity with Cardinal Manning, the Lord Mayor and the bourgeoisie

in general than of his popularity with his own class. And Champion—an ex-Lieutenant—has intrigued for years with bourgeois and especially with conservative elements, preached Socialism at the parson's Church Congress, etc. Even Tom Mann, whom I regard as the finest of them all, is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. If one compares this with the French, one can see what a revolution is good for after all."¹

Comment is superfluous.

Another example. In 1891 there was danger of a European war. Engels corresponded on the subject with Bebel, and they agreed that in the event of Russia attacking Germany, the German Socialists must desperately fight the Russians and any allies of the Russians. "If Germany is crushed, then we shall be too, while in the most favourable case the struggle will be such a violent one that Germany will only be able to hold on by revolutionary means, so that very possibly we shall be forced to come into power and play the part of 1793." (Letter of October 24, 1891.)²

Let this be noted by those opportunists who cried from the housetops that "Jacobin" prospects for the Russian workers' party in 1905 were un-Social-Democratic! Engels squarely suggests to Bebel the possibility of the Social-Democrats having to participate in a provisional government.

Holding such views on the tasks of Social-Democratic workers' parties it is quite natural that Marx and Engels should have the most fervent faith in the Russian Revolution and its great world significance. We see this ardent expectation of a revolution in Russia in this correspondence over a period of nearly twenty years.

Here is Marx's letter of September 27, 1877. He is quite enthusiastic over the Eastern crisis:³ "Russia has long been standing on the threshold of an upheaval, all the elements of it are prepared. . . . The gallant Turks have hastened the explosion by years with the thrashing they have inflicted. . . . The

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 461.—*Ed.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 494.—*Ed.*

³ This refers to the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78) and the complications in international relations which it evoked.—*Ed.*

upheaval will begin *secundum artem* [according to the rules of the art] with some *playing at constitutionalism* and then there will be a fine row (*et il y aura un beau tapage*). If Mother Nature is not particularly unfavourable towards us we shall still live to see the fun!"¹ (Marx was then fifty-nine years old.)

Mother Nature did not—and could not very well—permit Marx to live “to see the fun.” But he *foretold* the “playing at constitutionalism,” and it is as though his words were written yesterday in relation to the First and Second Russian Dumas. And we know that the warning to the people against “playing at constitutionalism” was the “living soul” of the tactics of boycott so detested by the liberals and opportunists. . . .

Here is Marx's letter of November 5, 1880. He is delighted with the success of *Capital* in Russia, and takes the part of the *Narodovoltzi* against the newly-arisen group of *Chernopere-deltsi*.² Marx correctly perceives the anarchistic elements in the latter's views. Not knowing and having then no opportunity of knowing the future evolution of the *Chernopere-deltsi-Narodniks* into Social-Democrats, Marx attacks the *Chernopere-deltsi* with all his trenchant sarcasm:

“These gentlemen are against all political-revolutionary action. Russia is to make a somersault into the anarchist-communist-atheist millenium! Meanwhile, they are preparing for this leap with the most tedious doctrinairism, whose so-called principles are being hawked about the street ever since the late Bakunin.”

We can gather from this how Marx would have judged the significance for Russia of 1905 and the following years of the “political-revolutionary action” of *Social-Democracy*.³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 348.—Ed.

² *Narodovoltzi* and *Chernopere-deltsi*—i.e., members of the Populist organizations—“*Narodnaya Volya*” (see footnote to p. 88 and “*Cherny Pere-del*” (“Black Redistribution”). Unlike the *Narodovoltzi*, the *Chernopere-deltsi* maintained that a direct political struggle against the tsarist autocracy was of secondary importance and advocated support of the demands of the people for a general and “just” division of all the land as the practical aim of their group. Its existence was short-lived. The leaders of the group, headed by Plekhanov, very soon adopted the standpoint of Marxism.—Ed.

³ By the way, if my memory does not deceive me Plekhanov or V. I. Zasulich told me in 1900-03 about the existence of a letter of Engels

Here is a letter by Engels dated April 6, 1887: "On the other hand, it seems as if a crisis is impending in Russia. The recent *attentats* rather upset the apple-cart. . . ." A letter of April 9, 1887, says the same thing. . . . "The army is full of discontented, conspiring officers. [Engels at that time was influenced by the revolutionary struggle of the "Narodnaya Volya" party; he set his hopes on the officers, and did not yet see the revolutionary Russian soldiers and sailors, who manifested themselves so magnificently eighteen years later. . . .] I do not think things will last another year; and once it breaks out (*losgeht*) in Russia, then hurrah!"

A letter of April 23, 1887: "In Germany there is persecution [of Socialists] after persecution. It looks as if Bismarck wants to have everything ready, so that the moment the revolution breaks out in Russia, which is now only a question of months, Germany could immediately follow her example (*losgeschlagen werden*)."

The months proved to be very, very long ones. Doubtless, philistines will be found who, knitting their brows and wrinkling their foreheads, will sternly condemn Engels' "revolutionism," or will indulgently laugh at the old utopias of the old revolutionary exile.

Yes, Marx and Engels erred much and often in determining the proximity of revolution, in their hopes in the victory of revolution (e.g., in 1848 in Germany), in their faith in the imminence of a German "republic" ("to die for the republic," wrote Engels of that period, recalling his sentiments as a participant in the military campaign for an imperial constitution in 1848-49). They erred in 1871 when they were engaged in "raising revolt in Southern France, for which" they (Becker writes "we," referring to himself and his nearest friends: letter No. 14 of July 21, 1871) "did, sacrificed and risked all that was humanly possible. . . ." The same letter says: "If we had had more means in March and April we would have roused

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to Plekhanov on *Our Differences* and on the character of the impending revolution in Russia. It would be interesting to know precisely—is there such a letter, does it still exist, and is it not time to publish it? (See Engels' letter to Zasulich of April 23, 1885. *Marx-Engels, Selected Correspondence*, pp. 436-48.—Ed.)

the whole of Southern France and would have saved the Commune in Paris." But *such* errors—the errors of the giants of revolutionary thought who tried to raise and did raise the proletariat of the whole world above the level of petty, commonplace and trifling tasks—are a thousand times more noble and magnificent and *historically more valuable and true* than the puerile wisdom of official liberalism, which sings, shouts, appeals and exhorts about the vanity of revolutionary vanities, the futility of the revolutionary struggle and the charms of counter-revolutionary "constitutional" fantasies. . . .

The Russian working class will win its freedom and give a fillip to Europe by its revolutionary action, full though it may be of mistakes—and let the philistines pride themselves on the infallibility of their revolutionary inaction.

April 19(6). 1907

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA

THE PROCESS OF FORMATION OF THE HOME MARKET FOR
LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

(Excerpt)

The present work was written in the period just preceding the Russian Revolution, during the temporary lull that set in after the outbreak of the big strikes of 1895-96. The labour movement at that time retired within itself, as it were, spreading and gaining depth and preparing for the beginning of the demonstration movement of 1901.

The analysis of the social and economic system, and, consequently, of the class structure of Russia given in this work on the basis of an economic investigation and critical examination of statistical data is now being corroborated by the open political action of all classes in the course of the revolution. The leading role of the proletariat has been fully revealed. It has also been revealed that the strength of the proletariat in the historical movement is immeasurably greater than the proportion it constitutes of the total population. The economic basis of both these phenomena is shown in the present work.

Further, the revolution is now increasingly revealing the dual status and dual role of the peasantry. On the one hand, the extensive remnants of the corvée system and all sorts of survivals of serfdom, together with the unprecedented impoverishment and ruin of the poor peasants, fully explain the deep sources of the revolutionary peasant movement, the deep-lying roots of the revolutionary spirit of the peasantry as a

mass. On the other hand, the course of the revolution, the character of the various political parties, and the numerous political ideological trends all reveal the inherently contradictory class structure of this mass, its petty-bourgeois nature, and the antagonism between the proprietor and proletarian tendencies within it. The wavering of the impoverished small proprietor between the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat is as inevitable as is the fact in every capitalist society that an insignificant minority of the small producers grow rich, "come up in the world," become bourgeois, while the overwhelming majority are either utterly ruined and become wage-workers or paupers, or else constantly live on the verge of a proletarian existence. The economic basis of both trends among the peasantry is shown in the present work.

On this economic basis, the revolution in Russia, of course, is inevitably a bourgeois revolution. This Marxist thesis is absolutely incontrovertible. It must never be lost sight of. It must always be applied to all economic and political questions of the Russian Revolution.

But one must know how to apply it. The concrete analysis of the status and the interests of the various classes must serve to define the precise meaning of this truth as applied to this or that question. The contrary method of reasoning, not infrequently met with among the Social-Democrats of the Right wing, headed by Plekhanov, namely, the endeavour to find answers to concrete questions in the simple logical development of the general truth about the fundamental character of our revolution, is a vulgarization of Marxism and a sheer mockery of dialectical materialism. With reference to people who from the general truth about the character of the revolution deduce, for example, that the "bourgeoisie" must play the leading role in this revolution, or that the Socialists must support the liberals, Marx would probably have repeated the words of Heine he once quoted: "I sowed dragons and reaped a harvest of fleas."

On the economic basis of the Russian Revolution, two fundamental lines of development and issue are objectively possible for it:

Either the old landlord economy, which is linked with serfdom by a thousand threads, will be preserved and slowly transformed into a purely capitalistic, "Junker" economy. The basis for the final transition from the *otrabotki*¹ system to capitalism will then be the internal metamorphosis of feudal landlord economy. The whole agrarian system of the state will become capitalistic, while retaining the features of serfdom for a long time to come. Or the old landlord economy will be broken up by revolution, which will destroy all remnants of serfdom, big landlordism in the first place. The basis for the final transition from the *otrabotki* system to capitalism will then be the free development of small peasant economy, which will have been greatly stimulated by the expropriation of the landed estates for the benefit of the peasantry. The whole agrarian system will become capitalistic, for the more completely the traces of serfdom are abolished, the speedier will be the disintegration of the peasantry. In other words: either landlordism and the chief pillars of the old "superstructure" remain practically intact—in which case the predominant role will be played by the monarchist liberal bourgeois and landlord, the prosperous peasants will rapidly go over to their side, and the peasant masses will be degraded, for not only will they be expropriated on an enormous scale, but in addition, they will be reduced to bondage by some scheme or other for compensation that the Cadets will devise, and crushed and stupefied by the rule of reaction—the executors of this sort of bourgeois revolution will be politicians of a type akin to the Octobrists.² Or landlordism and all the chief pillars of the old "superstructure" corresponding to it will be destroyed; the proletariat and the peasant masses will then play the predominant role, while the unstable or counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie will be neutralized; productive forces will develop most rapidly and freely on capitalist lines, while the masses of the workers

¹ Labour rent.—Tr.

² *Octobrists*—members of the reactionary "Union of October Seventeenth" who represented the interests of big industrial capital and the big landlords who ran their farms on capitalist lines. They called themselves "Octobrists" because they formally adopted the platform of the Tsarist Manifesto of October 17, 1905 which promised the people civil liberty.—Tr.

and peasants will enjoy the best conditions generally conceivable under commodity production—and in that case the most favourable conditions will be created for the further prosecution by the working class of its real and fundamental task of Socialist reconstruction. Of course, an endless variety of combinations of the elements of one type or another of capitalist evolution are possible, and only hopeless pedants would attempt to solve the peculiar and complex problems that arise in this connection merely by quoting some opinion or other expressed by Marx concerning a different historical epoch.

The work here submitted to the reader is devoted to an analysis of the pre-revolutionary economics of Russia. In a revolutionary epoch a country lives so rapidly and impetuously that in the heat of the political struggle it is impossible to determine the major results of economic evolution. Messrs. the Stolypins,¹ on the one hand and the liberals on the other (not only the Cadets à la Struve, but all the Cadets in general) are working systematically, persistently and consistently to consummate the revolution in accordance with the first model. The coup d'état of June 3, 1907,² we have just witnessed marks a victory for the counter-revolution, which is striving to ensure the complete predominance of the landlords in the so-called Russian popular representative assembly. But how durable this "victory" will be is another question, and the struggle for the second issue to the revolution is continuing. Not only the proletariat, but the broad masses of the peasantry as well are more or less resolutely, more or less consistently, more or less consciously striving for this issue. In spite of all the efforts of the counter-revolution to stifle the direct mass struggle by open violence, and in spite of all the efforts of the Cadets to stifle it by their despicable and hypocritical counter-revolutionary ideas, it breaks out, now here now there, do what they will, and puts its impress upon the policy of the Narodnik

¹ P. A. Stolypin (1862-1911)—Minister of the Interior and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Notorious for the suppression of the first Russian Revolution (1905-07) and for the subsequent period of ruthless political reaction.—Ed.

² On June 3, 1907, the tsar dispersed the Second State Duma. A new election law, for elections to the Third Duma, was promulgated, which curtailed still further the rights of the workers and peasants.—Ed

"toiler" parties, although the upper crust of petty-bourgeois political leaders (particularly the "Popular Socialists" and the Trudoviki) are undoubtedly infected with the Cadet spirit of treachery, Molchalinism¹ and the smugness of moderate and punctilious philistines or officials.

How this struggle will end, or what will be the final result of the first assault of the Russian Revolution it is as yet impossible to say. The time has therefore not yet arrived (nor, indeed, do the immediate party duties of a participant in the labour movement leave leisure) for a thorough revision of the present work.² The second edition cannot go beyond a description of the *pre-revolutionary* economics of Russia. The author was obliged to confine himself to a perusal and correction of the text and also to adding the *most essential* of the latest statistical material, such as the returns of the last horse censuses, the harvest statistics, the returns of the national census of the population of 1897, *new* factory statistics, etc.

The Author

July 1907

¹ *Molchalin*--a petty official, careerist and cringing sycophant in Griboyedov's play *Wit Works Woe*.—*Ed.*

² Perhaps such a revision would require an extension of this work: in that case the first volume would have to be restricted to an analysis of the pre-revolutionary economics of Russia, and the second volume devoted to a study of the outcome and results of the revolution.

AGAINST THE BOYCOTT

(NOTES OF A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLICIST)

(*Excerpt*)

V

The boycott is one of the best revolutionary traditions of the most eventful and heroic period of the Russian Revolution. We said above that one of our tasks is carefully to preserve these traditions in general, to cultivate them and to purge them of liberal (and opportunist) parasites. We must stop a moment to analyse this task in order properly to define its meaning and to eliminate misinterpretations and misunderstandings that might easily arise.

Marxism differs from all other Socialist theories in that it remarkably combines complete scientific soundness in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most definite recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius and revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations and parties that are able to discover and exercise contact with classes of one kind or another. A high appreciation of revolutionary periods in the development of humanity is something that follows logically from Marx's historical views as a whole; it is in such periods that are resolved the numerous contradictions that slowly accumulate in periods of so-called peaceful development. It is in such periods that the direct role of the various classes in the determination of the forms of social life manifests itself with the greatest force, and that the foundations are created for the

political "superstructure," which then for a long time continues to persist on the basis of the new productive relations. And unlike the bourgeois liberal theoreticians, Marx did not regard these periods as deviations from the "normal" path, not as manifestations of "social disease," not as the deplorable results of excesses and mistakes, but as the most vital, important, essential and decisive moments in the history of human societies. The period of their participation in the mass revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 stands out as the central point in the activities of Marx and Engels. It was from this point that they proceeded when determining the destiny of the labour movement and democracy in different countries. It was to this point that they always returned to determine the intrinsic nature of the various classes and their tendencies in the most vivid and purest form. It was from the standpoint of the revolutionary period of that time that they always judged the later and smaller political formations and organizations, political tasks and political conflicts. It is not for nothing that the ideological leaders of liberalism, like Sombart, cordially hate this feature of the activities and literary works of Marx and ascribe it to the "bitterness of an exile." It is so like the vermin of police-bourgeois university science to ascribe what is the most inseparable constituent part of Marx's and Engels' revolutionary outlook to personal bitterness, to the personal discomforts of life in exile!

In one of his letters, I think it was to Kugelmann, Marx in passing makes a most characteristic remark, one that is particularly interesting from the standpoint of the question we are discussing. He says that the reaction in Germany had almost succeeded in stamping out the memory and traditions of the revolutionary epoch of 1848 from the minds of the people.¹ Here we have the tasks of reaction and the tasks of the party of the proletariat in relation to the revolutionary traditions of a given country strikingly contrasted. The task of reaction is to stamp out these traditions, to represent the revolution as "elemental madness"—Struve's translation of the German "*das tolle Jahr*" ("the mad year"—the expression used of the year

¹ See Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, Eng. ed., 1934, letter of March 3, 1869.—Ed.

1848 by the German police-bourgeois historians, and even more widely by German university-professorial historiography). It is the task of reaction to get the people to forget the forms of struggle, the forms of organization and the ideas and slogans that were engendered by the revolutionary period in such profusion and variety. Just as those obtuse eulogists of English philistinism, the Webbs, try to represent Chartism, the revolutionary period of the English labour movement, as pure childishness, as "sowing wild oats," as a piece of naïveté unworthy of serious attention, as an accidental and abnormal deviation, so the German bourgeois historians treat the year 1848 in Germany. Such also is the attitude of the reactionaries to the Great French Revolution, which to this day reveals the vitality and strength of its influence on humanity by the fact that it still inspires the most savage hatred. And in the same way our heroes of counter-revolution, particularly former "democrats" like Struve, Milyukov, Kizevetter and "*tutti quanti*,"¹ vie with each other in vilely slandering the revolutionary traditions of the Russian Revolution. Barely two years have elapsed since the direct mass struggle of the proletariat won the particle of freedom over which the liberal lackeys of the old regime are so rapturous, yet in our publicist literature a strong trend has already arisen which calls itself *liberal* (!!), which is fostered in the Cadet press and which is wholly devoted to depicting our revolution, revolutionary methods of struggle, revolutionary slogans and revolutionary traditions as something base, primitive, naive, elemental, mad, etc. . . . and even criminal . . . from Milyukov to Kamyschansky *il n'y a qu'un pas!*² On the other hand the successes of reaction, which first drove the people from the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies to the Dubasov-Stolypin Duma³ and is now driving it to the Octobrist Duma, seem to the heroes of Russian liberalism to be "the process of growth of *constitutional* consciousness in Russia."

It is undoubtedly the duty of Russian Social-Democrats to

¹ The rest.—*Ed.*

² There is only one step.—*Ed.*

³ Term coined from the names of Stolypin (see footnote on p. 208) and F. V. Dubasov (1845-1912), the Governor-General of Moscow notorious for the ruthless way in which he crushed the armed uprising of the Moscow workers in December 1905.—*Ed.*

study our revolution very carefully and thoroughly. to acquaint the masses with its forms of struggle, forms of organization, etc., to strengthen the revolutionary traditions among the people, to instill in the masses the conviction that important and lasting improvements can be achieved solely and exclusively through the revolutionary struggle, and to systematically expose the utter baseness of those smug liberals who pollute the social atmosphere with the miasma of "constitutional" servility, treachery and Molchalinism. In the history of the struggle for liberty a single day of the October strike or of the December uprising is a hundred times more significant than months of servile Cadet speeches in the Duma on the subject of a non-responsible monarch and a constitutional monarchy. We must see to it—for if we do not no one else will—that the people should know those vigorous, meaningful, highly significant and portentous days far more thoroughly, completely and circumstantially than those months of "constitutional" suffocation and Balalaikin-Molchalin progress.¹ which, with the benevolent connivance of Stolypin and his retinue of censors and gendarmes, our liberal party and non-party "democratic" (ugh! ugh!) press lauds so zealously.

There is no doubt that in many cases sympathy for the boycott is created precisely by these praiseworthy efforts of revolutionaries to foster the tradition of the best revolutionary period of the past, to enliven the desolate swamp of present-day, drab, everyday life by a spark of bold, open and resolute struggle. But it is just because we prize this concern for revolutionary traditions that we must vigorously protest against the view that the application of one of the slogans of a particular historical period can help to restore the essential conditions of that period. It is one thing to preserve the traditions of the revolution, to know how to use them for constant propaganda and agitation and for acquainting the masses with the condi-

¹ *Balalaikin-Molchalin progress*—the expression is from M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin's satires: *Amidst Mediocrity and Accuracy* and *A Present-Day Idyll*. *Balalaikin*—a type of peltifogging lawyer who is out to make his "fortune" and does not stop at any means to achieve this purpose. *Molchalin*—a type adapted by the Russian satirist from Griboyedov's play (see footnote to p. 209).—Ed.

tions of a direct and aggressive struggle against the old society, but it is another thing to repeat a slogan which is torn from the ensemble of conditions that gave rise to it and guaranteed its success and to apply it to fundamentally different conditions.

Marx himself, who valued revolutionary traditions so highly, and unmercifully castigated a renegade or philistine attitude towards them, at the same time demanded that revolutionaries should be able to *think*, should be able to *analyse* the conditions for the application of old methods of struggle, and not simply to repeat certain slogans. The "national" traditions of 1792 in France will perhaps forever remain a *model* of certain revolutionary methods of struggle, but this did not prevent Marx in 1870, in the famous Address of the International, from warning the French proletariat against the mistake of transferring those traditions to the conditions of a different period.

The same is true in Russia. We must study the conditions for the application of the boycott, we must instill in the masses the idea that the boycott is an entirely legitimate and sometimes essential method at moments when the revolution is on the rise (no matter what the pedants who take the name of Marx in vain say). But whether revolution is really on the rise—which is the fundamental condition for proclaiming a boycott—is a question which one must be able to raise independently and to decide on the basis of a serious analysis of the facts. It is our duty to prepare the way for such a rise, as far as it lies within our power, and not to renounce the boycott at the proper moment for boycott; but to regard the boycott slogan as being generally applicable to every bad or very bad representative institution would certainly be a mistake.

Take the argument that was used in defence and support of the boycott in the "days of freedom" and you will immediately realize the impossibility of simply transferring these arguments to present-day conditions.

When advocating the boycott in 1905 and the beginning of 1906 we argued that participation in the elections would tend to dampen ardour, to surrender the position to the enemy, to lead the revolutionary people astray, to facilitate an agreement between tsarism and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

and so on. What was the fundamental premise underlying these arguments, a premise not always expressed, but always assumed as something taken for granted *at that time*? This premise was the rich revolutionary energy of the masses, which sought and found *direct* outlets apart from "constitutional" channels. This premise was that the revolution maintained a continuous *offensive* against reaction, an offensive which it would have been criminal to weaken by occupying and defending a position that was deliberately proffered by the enemy in order to weaken the general onslaught. Try to repeat these arguments *apart from* the conditions of this fundamental premise and you will immediately discern the disharmony of your "music," the falseness of your basic note.

It would be equally hopeless to attempt to justify the boycott by drawing a distinction between the Second and Third Dumas. To regard the difference between the Cadets (who in the Second Duma utterly betrayed the people to the Black-Hundreds) and the Octobrists as a serious and fundamental difference, to attach any real significance to the notorious "constitution" that was torn up by the coup d'état of June 3 is something that in general corresponds much more to the spirit of vulgar democracy than to the spirit of revolutionary Social-Democracy. We have always said, maintained and reiterated that the "constitution" of the First and Second Dumas was only a phantom, that the Cadets' talk was only a manoeuvre to conceal their Octobrist nature, and that the Duma was a totally unsuitable instrument for satisfying the demands of the proletariat and the peasantry. For us June 3, 1907, is a natural and inevitable result of the defeat of December 1905. We were never "captivated" by the charms of the "Duma" constitution, and so we cannot be particularly disappointed by the transition from reaction embellished and lacquered over by Rodichev's phrasemongering to reaction that is naked, open and brutal. Perhaps the latter is an even more effective means of sobering the boorish liberal simpletons, or the sections of the population they have led astray. . . .

Compare the Menshevik Stockholm resolution with the Bolshevik London resolution on the State Duma. You will find that the first is florid, prolix, full of high flown phrases about

the significance of the Duma and swollen with the consciousness of the grandeur of work in the Duma. The second is simple, concise, sober and modest. The first resolution expresses a spirit of philistine rejoicing over the union of Social-Democracy and constitutionalism ("the new power that has arisen from the womb of the people," and so on and so forth in this same false, stereotyped spirit). The second resolution can be paraphrased approximately as follows: since the accursed counter-revolution has driven us into this accursed pigsty, let us work even there for the benefit of the revolution, without whining, but also without boasting.

By defending the Duma from the boycott when we were still in the period of direct revolutionary struggle, the Mensheviks, as it were, gave their pledge to the people that the Duma would be something in the nature of a weapon of the revolution. And they have most solemnly come a cropper over this pledge. But if we Bolsheviks gave any pledge at all, it was by asserting that the Duma was the offspring of counter-revolution and that no real good could be expected from it. Our view has been splendidly confirmed so far, and it can be safely asserted that it will continue to be confirmed by future events. Unless the October-December strategy is "corrected" and repeated on the basis of the new data, there will never be freedom in Russia.

Therefore, when I am told that the Third Duma cannot be utilized as the Second Duma was, that the masses cannot be made to understand that it is necessary to take part in it, I want to answer: if by "utilize" is meant Menshevik bombast, in the nature of a weapon of the revolution, etc., then it certainly cannot. But then even the first two Dumas proved in fact to be steps to the Octobrist Duma, and yet we utilized them for a simple and modest¹ purpose (propaganda and agitation, criticism and explaining to the masses what is taking place), for which we shall always be able to utilize even the worst

¹ See article in *Proletary* (Geneva), 1905, "The Boycott of the Bulygin Duma," where we pointed out that we do not renounce the use of the Duma generally, but that we are now solving another problem confronting us, viz., the problem of fighting for a direct revolutionary path. See also the article in *Proletary* (Russian), 1906, No. 1, "On the Boycott," where the modesty of the benefits to be derived from work in the Duma is emphasized.

representative institutions. A speech in the Duma will not call forth any "revolution," and propaganda *in connection with the Duma* is not distinguished by any particular merits; but the advantage that Social-Democracy can derive from either is not less, and sometimes even greater, than the advantage to be derived from a printed speech or a speech delivered at some other gathering.

And we must explain our participation in the Octobrist Duma to the masses in just as simple a manner. Owing to the defeat of December 1905 and the failure of the attempts of 1906-07 to "repair" this defeat, reaction inevitably drove us and will *continue to drive* us into worse and worse quasi-constitutional institutions. No matter where we are we shall always defend our convictions and advocate our views, and always insist that no good can be expected as long as the old regime remains, as long as it is not eradicated. Let us prepare the conditions for a new rise of the revolution, and until it takes place and in order that it may take place, let us work more persistently and refrain from advancing slogans which have meaning only when the revolution is on the rise.

It would be equally wrong to regard the boycott as a *line of tactics* which sets the proletariat and part of the revolutionary bourgeois democracy in opposition to liberalism and reaction. The boycott is not a line of tactics, but a special means of struggle suitable under special conditions. To confuse Bolshevism with "boycottism" would be as mistaken as to confuse it with "*boyevism*." The difference between the Bolshevik and Menshevik *lines of tactics* has already been fully revealed and has taken shape in the fundamentally different resolutions adopted in the spring of 1905 at the Bolshevik Third Congress in London and the Menshevik Conference in Geneva. There was no talk then either of boycott or of "*boyevism*," nor could there be. As everyone knows, our *line of tactics* differed very definitely from the Menshevik line both in the elections to the Second Duma, when we were not boycottists, and in the Second Duma itself. Our *lines of tactics* diverge on all means and methods of struggle, in every field of the struggle, without

¹ From *boyevoye otryady*, combatant detachments --Ed

any special methods of struggle peculiar to any line being created. And if the boycott of the Third Duma had been justified on the grounds of, or called forth by the collapse of *revolutionary* expectations in connection with *the First or the Second Duma*, by the collapse of a "lawful," "strong," "durable," and "genuine" constitution. it would have been Menshevism of the worst kind

VII

To sum up. The slogan of the boycott arose during a special historical period. In 1905 and the beginning of 1906 the objective state of affairs confronted the combatant social forces with the problem of choosing the immediate path: a direct revolutionary path or a change to a constitutional monarchy. The meaning of the agitation for a boycott was mainly to combat constitutional illusions. The condition for the success of the boycott movement was a wide general, rapid and powerful rise of the revolution.

In all these respects the state of affairs now, towards the autumn of 1907. does not call for such a slogan and does not justify it.

While continuing our day-to-day work of preparing for the elections, and while not refusing beforehand to participate even in the most reactionary representative institutions, we must concentrate all our propaganda and agitation upon explaining to the people the connection between the December defeat and all the subsequent decline of liberty and abuse of the constitution. We must instill in the masses the firm conviction that unless there is a direct mass struggle such abuse will inevitably continue and grow stronger.

Without renouncing the application of the slogan of the boycott at times of rising revolution, when the need for such a slogan may seriously arise, we must at the present moment direct all our efforts towards transforming by our direct and immediate influence every rise in the labour movement into a general, wide, revolutionary and offensive movement against reaction as a whole and against its foundations.

July 1907

MARXISM AND REVISIONISM

There is a saying that if geometrical axioms affected human interests attempts would certainly be made to refute them. Theories of the natural sciences which conflict with the old prejudices of theology provoked, and still provoke, the most rabid opposition. No wonder, therefore, that the Marxian doctrine, which directly serves to enlighten and organize the advanced class in modern society, which indicates the tasks of this class and which proves the inevitable (by virtue of economic development) replacement of the present system by a new order no wonder that this doctrine had to fight at every step in its course.

There is no need to speak of bourgeois science and philosophy, which are officially taught by official professors in order to befuddle the rising generation of the possessing classes and to "coach" it against the internal and foreign enemy. This science will not even hear of Marxism, declaring that it has been refuted and annihilated. The young scientists who are building their careers by refuting Socialism, and the decrepit elders who preserve the traditions of all the various outworn "systems," attack Marx with equal zeal. The progress of Marxism and the fact that its ideas are spreading and taking firm hold among the working class inevitably tend to increase the frequency and intensity of these bourgeois attacks on Marxism, which only becomes stronger, more hardened, and more tenacious every time it is "annihilated" by official science.

But Marxism by no means consolidated its position immediately even among doctrines which are connected with the struggle of the working class and which are current mainly among the proletariat. In the first half-century of its existence

(from the 'forties on) Marxism was engaged in combating theories fundamentally hostile to it. In the first half of the 'forties Marx and Engels demolished the radical Young Hegelians, who professed philosophical idealism. At the end of the 'forties the struggle invaded the domain of economic doctrine, in opposition to Proudhonism. The 'fifties saw the completion of this struggle: the criticism of the parties and doctrines which manifested themselves in the stormy year of 1848. In the 'sixties the struggle was transferred from the domain of general theory to a domain closer to the direct labour movement: the ejection of Bakunism from the International. In the early 'seventies the stage in Germany was occupied for a short while by the Proudhonist Mühlberger, and in the latter 'seventies by the positivist Dühring. But the influence of both on the proletariat was already absolutely insignificant. Marxism was already gaining an unquestionable victory over all other ideologies in the labour movement.

By the 'nineties this victory was in the main completed. Even in the Latin countries, where the traditions of Proudhonism held their ground longest of all, the labour parties actually based their programs and tactics on a Marxist foundation. The revived international organization of the labour movement—in the shape of periodical international congresses—from the outset, and almost without a struggle, adopted the Marxist standpoint in all essentials. But after Marxism had ousted all the more or less consistent doctrines hostile to it, the tendencies expressed in those doctrines began to seek other channels. The forms and motives of the struggle changed, but the struggle continued. And the second half-century in the existence of Marxism began (in the 'nineties) with the struggle of a trend hostile to Marxism within Marxism.

Bernstein, a one-time orthodox Marxist, gave his name to this current by making the most noise and advancing the most integral expression of the amendments to Marx, the revision of Marx, revisionism. Even in Russia, where, owing to the economic backwardness of the country and the preponderance of a peasant population oppressed by the relics of serfdom, non-Marxian Socialism has naturally held its ground longest of all, it is plainly passing into revisionism before our very eyes

Both in the agrarian question (the program of the municipalization of all land) and in general questions of program and tactics, our social-Narodniks are more and more substituting "amendments" to Marx for the moribund and obsolescent remnants of the old system, which in its own way was integral and fundamentally hostile to Marxism.

Pre-Marxian Socialism has been smashed. It is now continuing the struggle not on its own independent soil but on the general soil of Marxism—as revisionism. Let us, then, examine the ideological content of revisionism.

In the domain of philosophy revisionism clung to the skirts of bourgeois professorial "science." The professors went "back to Kant"—and revisionism followed in the wake of the neo-Kantians. The professors repeated, for the thousandth time, the threadbare banalities urged by the priests against philosophical materialism—and the revisionists, smiling condescendingly, mumbled (word for word after the latest *Handbuch*) that materialism had been "refuted" long ago. The professors treated Hegel as a "dead dog," and while they themselves preached idealism, only an idealism a thousand times more petty and banal than Hegel's, they contemptuously shrugged their shoulders at dialectics—and the revisionists floundered after them into the swamp of philosophical vulgarization of science, replacing "artful" (and revolutionary) dialectics by "simple" (and tranquil) "evolution." The professors earned their official salaries by adjusting both their idealist and "critical" systems to the dominant mediaeval "philosophy" (*i.e.*, to theology)—and the revisionists drew close to them and endeavoured to make religion a "private affair," not in relation to the modern state, but in relation to the party of the advanced class.

What the real class significance of such "amendments" to Marx was need not be said—it is clear enough. We shall simply note that the only Marxist in the international Social-Democratic movement who criticized from the standpoint of consistent dialectical materialism the incredible banalities uttered by the revisionists was Plekhanov. This must be stressed all the more emphatically since thoroughly mistaken attempts are being made in our day to smuggle in the old and reactionary philosoph-

ical rubbish under the guise of criticizing Plekhanov's tactical opportunism.¹

Passing to political economy, it must be noted first of all that the "amendments" of the revisionists in this domain were much more comprehensive and circumstantial; attempts were made to influence the public by adducing "new data of economic development." It was said that concentration and the ousting of small-scale production by large-scale production do not occur in agriculture at all while concentration proceeds extremely slowly in commerce and industry. It was said that crises had now become rarer and of less force, and that the cartels and trusts would probably enable capital to do away with crises altogether. It was said that the "theory of the collapse" to which capitalism is heading, was unsound, owing to the tendency of class contradictions to become less acute and milder. It was said, finally, that it would not be amiss to correct Marx's theory of value in accordance with Böhm-Bawerk.

The fight against the revisionists on these questions resulted in as fruitful a revival of the theoretical thought of international Socialism as followed from Engels' controversy with Dühring twenty years earlier. The arguments of the revisionists were analysed with the help of facts and figures. It was proved that the revisionists were systematically presenting modern small-scale production in a favourable light. The technical and commercial superiority of large-scale production over small-scale production both in industry and in agriculture is proved by irrefutable facts. But commodity production is far less developed in agriculture, and modern statisticians and economists are usually not very skilful in picking out the special branches (sometimes even operations) in agriculture which indicate that agriculture is being progressively drawn into the

¹ See *Studies in the Philosophy of Marxism* by Bogdanov, Bazarov and others. This is not the place to discuss this book, and I must at present confine myself to stating that in the very near future I shall show in a series of articles or in a separate pamphlet that *everything* I have said in the text about the neo-Kantian revisionists essentially applies also to these "new" neo-Humist and neo-Berkeleyan revisionists. (In his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, which Lenin wrote shortly after [in 1909], he subjected Bogdanov and the rest of the revisionists, together with their philosophical teachers--Avenarius and Mach--to a withering criticism.—Ed.).

exchange of world economy. Small-scale production maintains itself on the ruins of natural economy by a steady deterioration in nourishment, by chronic starvation, by the lengthening of the working day, by the deterioration in the quality of cattle and in the care given to cattle, in a word, by the very methods whereby handicraft production maintained itself against capitalist manufacture. Every advance in science and technology inevitably and relentlessly undermines the foundations of small-scale production in capitalist society, and it is the task of Socialist economics to investigate this process in all its—often complicated and intricate—forms and to demonstrate to the small producer the impossibility of holding his own under capitalism, the hopelessness of peasant farming under capitalism, and the necessity of the peasant adopting the standpoint of the proletariat. On this question the revisionists sinned from the scientific standpoint by superficially generalizing from facts selected one-sidedly and without reference to the system of capitalism as a whole; they sinned from the political standpoint by the fact that they inevitably, whether they wanted to or not, invited or urged the peasant to adopt the standpoint of the master (*i.e.*, the standpoint of the bourgeoisie), instead of urging him to adopt the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat.

The position of revisionism was even worse as far as the theory of crises and the theory of collapse were concerned. Only for the shortest space of time could people, and then only the most short-sighted, think of remodelling the foundations of the Marxian doctrine under the influence of a few years of industrial boom and prosperity. Facts very soon made it clear to the revisionists that crises were not a thing of the past: prosperity was followed by a crisis. The forms, the sequence, the picture of the particular crises changed, but crises remained an inevitable component of the capitalist system. While uniting production, the cartels and trusts at the same time, and in a way that was obvious to all, aggravated the anarchy of production, the insecurity of existence of the proletariat and the oppression of capital, thus intensifying class contradictions to an unprecedented degree. That capitalism is moving towards collapse—in the sense both of individual polit-

ical and economic crises and of the complete wreck of the entire capitalist system—has been made very clear, and on a very large scale, precisely by the latest giant trusts. The recent financial crisis in America and the frightful increase of unemployment all over Europe, to say nothing of the impending industrial crisis to which many symptoms are pointing—all this has brought it about that the recent “theories” of the revisionists are being forgotten by everybody, even, it seems, by many of the revisionists themselves. But the lessons which this instability of the intellectuals has given the working class must not be forgotten.

As to the theory of value, it should only be said that apart from hints and sighs, exceedingly vague, for Böhm-Bawerk, the revisionists have here contributed absolutely nothing, and have therefore left no traces whatever on the development of scientific thought.

In the domain of politics, revisionism tried to revise the very foundation of Marxism, namely, the doctrine of the class struggle. Political freedom, democracy and universal suffrage remove the ground for the class struggle—we were told—and render untrue the old proposition of the *Communist Manifesto* that the workers have no country. For, they said, since the “will of the majority” prevails under democracy, one must neither regard the state as an organ of class rule, nor reject alliances with the progressive, social-reformist bourgeoisie against the reactionaries.

It cannot be disputed that these objections of the revisionists constituted a fairly harmonious system of views, namely, the old and well-known liberal bourgeois views. The liberals have always said that bourgeois parliamentarism destroys classes and class divisions, since the right to vote and the right to participate in state affairs are shared by all citizens without distinction. The whole history of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the whole history of the Russian Revolution at the beginning of the twentieth, clearly show how absurd such views are. Economic distinctions are aggravated and accentuated rather than mitigated under the freedom of “democratic” capitalism. Parliamentarism does not remove, but rather lays bare the innate character even of the most

democratic bourgeois republics as organs of class oppression. By helping to enlighten and to organize immeasurably wider masses of the population than those which previously took an active part in political events, parliamentarism does not make for the elimination of crises and political revolutions, but for the maximum accentuation of civil war during such revolutions. The events in Paris in the spring of 1871 and the events in Russia in the winter of 1905¹ showed as clear as clear could be how inevitably this accentuation comes about. The French bourgeoisie without a moment's hesitation made a deal with the common national enemy, the foreign army which had ruined its fatherland, in order to crush the proletarian movement. Whoever does not understand the inevitable inner dialectics of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy—which tends to an even more acute decision of a dispute by mass violence than formerly—will never be able through parliamentarism to conduct propaganda and agitation that are consistent in principle and really prepare the working-class masses to take a victorious part in such "disputes." The experience of alliances, agreements and blocs with the social-reformist liberals in the West and with the liberal reformists (Constitutional-Democrats) in the Russian revolution convincingly showed that these agreements only blunt the consciousness of the masses, that they weaken rather than enhance the actual significance of their struggle by linking the fighters with the elements who are least capable of fighting and who are most vacillating and treacherous. French Millerandism—the biggest experiment in applying revisionist political tactics on a wide, a really national scale—has provided a practical judgment of revisionism which will never be forgotten by the proletariat all over the world.

A natural complement to the economic and political tendencies of revisionism was its attitude to the final aim of the

¹ The reference is to: 1) The uprising of the Paris workers in March 1871, as a result of which the Paris Commune—a "government of the working class" as Marx defined it, was set up for the first time in history. It was bloodily suppressed by the reactionary French government in conjunction with the Prussian army of occupation. 2) The armed uprising of the Moscow workers in December 1905 which was ruthlessly crushed by the tsarist government. *Ed.*

Socialist movement. 'The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing'—this catchphrase of Bernstein's expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long arguments. The policy of revisionism consists in determining its conduct from case to case, in adapting itself to the events of the day, and to the chops and changes of petty politics; it consists in forgetting the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole and of capitalist evolution as a whole, and in sacrificing these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment. And it patently follows from the very nature of this policy that it may assume an infinite variety of forms, and that every more or less "new" question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it may change the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the shortest period of time, will always inevitably give rise to one or another variety of revisionism.

The inevitability of revisionism is determined by its class roots in modern society. Revisionism is an international phenomenon. No more or less informed and thinking Socialist can have the slightest doubt that the relation between the orthodox and the Bernsteinites in Germany, the Guesdites and the Jauresites (and now particularly the Broussites) in France, the Social-Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain, de Brouckere and Vandervelde in Belgium, the integralists and the reformists in Italy, and the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in Russia is everywhere essentially similar notwithstanding the gigantic variety of national and historically-derived conditions in the present state of all these countries. In reality, the "division" within the present international Socialist movement is now proceeding along *one* line in all the various countries of the world, which testifies to a tremendous advance compared with thirty or forty years ago, when it was not like tendencies within a united international Socialist movement that were combating one another within the various countries. And the "revisionism from the Left" which has begun to take shape in the Latin countries, such as "revolutionary syndicalism," is also adapting itself to Marxism while "amending" it; Labriola in Italy and Lagardelle in France

frequently appeal from Marx wrongly understood to Marx rightly understood.

We cannot stop here to analyse the ideological substance of *this* revisionism; it has not yet by far developed to the extent that opportunist revisionism has, it has not yet become international, and it has not yet stood the test of one big practical battle with a Socialist Party even in one country. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the "revisionism from the Right" described above.

Wherein lies its inevitability in capitalist society? Why is it more profound than the differences of national peculiarities and degrees of capitalist development? Because always, in every capitalist country, side by side with the proletariat, there are broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, small masters. Capitalism arose and is constantly arising out of small production. A number of "middle strata" are inevitably created anew by capitalism (appendages to the factory, homework, and small workshops scattered all over the country in view of the requirements of big industries, such as the bicycle and automobile industries, etc.). These new small producers are just as inevitably cast back into the ranks of the proletariat. It is quite natural that the petty-bourgeois world conception should again and again crop up in the ranks of the broad labour parties. It is quite natural that this should be so, and it always will be so, right up to the peripety of the proletarian revolution, for it would be a grave mistake to think that the "complete" proletarianization of the majority of the population is essential before such a revolution can be achieved. What we now frequently experience only in the domain of ideology--disputes over theoretical amendments to Marx--what now crops up in practice only over individual partial issues of the labour movement as tactical differences with the revisionists and splits on these grounds, will all unfailingly have to be experienced by the working class on an incomparably larger scale when the proletarian revolution accentuates all issues and concentrates all differences on points of the most immediate importance in determining the conduct of the masses, and makes it necessary in the heat of the fight to distinguish enemies from friends and

to cast out bad allies so as to be able to deal decisive blows at the enemy.

The ideological struggle waged by revolutionary Marxism against revisionism at the end of the nineteenth century is but the prelude to the great revolutionary battles of the proletariat, which is marching forward to the complete victory of its cause despite all the waverings and weaknesses of the petty bourgeoisie

April 1908

MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM

CRITICAL COMMENTS ON A REACTIONARY PHILOSOPHY

(Excerpt)

VI. EMPIRIO-CRITICISM AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

4. PARTIES IN PHILOSOPHY AND PHILOSOPHICAL BLOCKHEADS

It remains for us to examine the relation between Machism¹ and religion. But this broadens into the question of whether there are parties generally in philosophy, and what is meant by non-partisanship in philosophy.

Throughout the preceding exposition, in connection with every problem of epistemology touched upon and in connection with every philosophical question raised by the new physics, we traced the struggle between *materialism* and *idealism*. Behind the mass of new terminological devices, behind the litter of erudite scholasticism, we invariably discerned *two* principal alignments, two fundamental trends in the solution of philosophical problems. Whether nature, matter, the physical, the external world be taken as primary, and mind, spirit, sensation (experience—as the *widespread* terminology of our time has it), the psychical, etc., be regarded as secondary—that is the root question which *in fact* continues to divide the philosophers into *two great camps*. The source of thousands upon thousands of mistakes and of the confusion reigning in this sphere is the fact that beneath the envelope of terms, definitions, scholastic devices and verbal artifices, these two fundamental trends are

¹ *Machism*—a reactionary subjectivist idealist doctrine which arose in the seventies and eighties of the XIX century and is associated with the names of Ernst Mach, Austrian physicist and philosopher, and Richard Avenarius, German philosopher.—Ed.

overlooked. (Bogdanov, for instance, refuses to acknowledge his idealism, because, you see, instead of the "metaphysical" concepts "nature" and "mind," he has taken the "experiential" physical and psychical. A word has been changed!)

The genius of Marx and Engels consisted in the very fact that in the course of a long period, *nearly half a century*, they developed materialism, that they further advanced one fundamental trend in philosophy, that they did not confine themselves to reiterating epistemological problems that had already been solved, but consistently applied—and showed *how* to apply—*this same* materialism in the sphere of the social sciences, mercilessly brushing aside as litter and rubbish the pretentious rigmarole, the innumerable attempts to "discover" a "new" line in philosophy, to invent a "new" trend and so forth. The verbal nature of such attempts, the scholastic play with new philosophical "isms," the clogging of the issue by pretentious devices, the inability to comprehend and clearly present the struggle between the two fundamental epistemological trends—this is what Marx and Engels persistently pursued and fought against throughout their entire activity.

We said, "nearly half a century." And, indeed, as far back as 1843, when Marx was only becoming Marx, *i.e.*, the founder of scientific Socialism, the founder of *modern materialism*, which is immeasurably richer in content and incomparably more consistent than all preceding forms of materialism, even at that time Marx pointed out with amazing clarity the basic trends in philosophy. Karl Grün quotes a letter from Marx to Feuerbach dated October 20, 1843, in which Marx invites Feuerbach to write an article for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* against Schelling. This Schelling, writes Marx, is a shallow braggart with his claims to having embraced and transcended all previous philosophical trends. "To the French romanticists and mystics he [Schelling] says: I am the union of philosophy and theology; to the French materialists: I am the union of the flesh and the idea; to the French sceptics: I am the destroyer of dogmatism."¹ That the "sceptics," be they

¹ Karl Grün, *Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel und Nachlaß, sowie in seiner philosophischen Charakterentwicklung* Bd. I. Leipzig 1874. S. 361

called Humeans or Kantians (or, in the twentieth century, Machians), cry out against the "dogmatism" of both materialism and idealism, Marx at that time already realized; and, without letting himself be diverted by any one of a thousand wretched little philosophical systems, he was able with the help of Feuerbach to take the direct materialist road as against idealism. Thirty years later, in the afterword to the second edition of the first volume of *Capital*, Marx just as clearly and definitely contrasted *his materialism* to Hegel's *idealism*, the most consistent and developed idealism of all, he contemptuously brushed Comtian "positivism" aside and dubbed as wretched epigoni the contemporary philosophers who imagined that they had destroyed Hegel when in reality they had reverted to a repetition of the pre-Hegelian errors of Kant and Hume. In the letter to Kugelmann of June 27, 1870, Marx refers contemptuously to "Büchner, Lange, Dühring, Fechner, etc.," because they understood nothing of Hegel's dialectics and treated him with scorn.¹ And finally, take the various philosophical utterances by Marx in *Capital* and other works, and you will find an *invariable* basic motif, *viz.*, insistence upon *materialism* and contemptuous derision of all obscurity, of all confusion and all deviations towards *idealism*. All Marx's philosophical utterances revolve within these fundamental opposites, and, in the eyes of professorial philosophy, their defect lies in this "narrowness" and "one-sidedness." As a matter of fact, this refusal to recognize the hybrid projects for reconciling materialism and idealism constitutes the great merit of Marx, who moved *forward* along a sharply-defined philosophical road.

Entirely in the spirit of Marx, and in close collaboration with him, Engels in all his philosophical works briefly and clearly contrasts the materialist and idealist line in regard to *all* questions, without, in 1878, 1888, or 1892 taking seriously the endless attempts to "transcend" the "one-sidedness" of materialism and idealism, to proclaim a *new* trend—"positiv-

¹ Of the positivist, Beesly, Marx, in his letter (to Kugelmann—*Ed.*) of December 13, 1870, speaks as follows: "Professor Beesly is a Comtist and is as such obliged to support all sorts of crotchets." Compare this with the opinion given of the positivists of the Huxley type by Engels in 1892 (in *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*—*Ed.*)

ism, "realism," or some other professorial charlatanism Engels based his *whole* fight against Dühring on the demand for consistent adherence to materialism, accusing the materialist Dühring of verbally confusing the issue, of phrasemongering, of methods of reasoning which involved a compromise with idealism and adoption of the position of idealism. Either materialism consistent to the end, or the falsehood and confusion of philosophical idealism—such is the formulation of the question given in *every paragraph* of *Anti-Dühring*; and only people whose minds had already been corrupted by reactionary professorial philosophy could fail to notice it. And right down to 1894 when the last preface was written to *Anti-Dühring*, revised and enlarged by the author for the last time, Engels continued to follow the latest developments both in philosophy and science, and continued with all his former resoluteness to hold to his lucid and firm position, brushing away the litter of new systems, big and little.

That Engels followed the new developments in philosophy is evident from *Ludwig Feuerbach*. In the 1888 preface, mention is even made of such a phenomenon as the rebirth of classical German philosophy in England and Scandinavia whereas Engels (both in the preface and in the text of the book) has nothing but contempt for the prevailing neo-Kantianism and Humism. It is quite obvious that Engels, observing the repetition by *fashionable* German and English philosophy of the old pre-Hegelian errors of Kantianism and Humism, was prepared to expect some good even *from the turn to Hegel* (in England and Scandinavia), hoping that the great idealist and dialectician would help to disclose petty idealist and metaphysical errors.

Without undertaking an examination of the vast number of shades of neo-Kantianism in Germany and of Humism in England, Engels *from the very outset* refutes their fundamental deviation from materialism. Engels declares that the *entire tendency* of these two schools is "*scientifically a step backward.*" And what is his opinion of the undoubtedly "positivist," according to the current terminology, the undoubtedly "realist" tendencies of these neo-Kantians and Humeans, among whose number, for instance, he could not help knowing Huxley? That

"positivism" and that "realism" which attracted, and which continue to attract, an infinite number of muddleheads, Engels declared to be *at best a philistine method of smuggling in materialism* while criticizing and abjuring it publicly! One has to reflect only very little on *such* an appraisal of Thomas Huxley a very great scientist and an incomparably more realistic realist and positive positivist than Mach, Avenarius and Co.—in order to understand how contemptuously Engels would have greeted the present inaltuation of a group of Marxists with "recent positivism" the "latest realism," etc.

Marx and Engels were partisans in philosophy from start to finish; they were able to detect the deviations from materialism and concessions to idealism and fideism in each and every "new" tendency. They therefore appraised Huxley *exclusively* from the standpoint of his materialist consistency. They therefore rebuked Feuerbach for not pursuing materialism to the end, for renouncing materialism because of the errors of individual materialists, for combating religion in order to renovate it or invent a new religion, for being unable, in sociology, to rid himself of idealist phraseology and become a materialist.

And whatever particular mistakes he committed in his exposition of dialectical materialism, J. Dietzgen fully appreciated and took over this great and most precious tradition of his teachers. Dietzgen sinned much by his clumsy deviations from materialism, but he never attempted to dissociate himself from it in principle, he never attempted to hoist a "new" standard, and always at the decisive moment he firmly and categorically declared: I am a materialist! our philosophy is a materialist philosophy. "Of all parties," our Joseph Dietzgen justly said, "the muddle party is the most repulsive. . . . Just as parties in politics are more and more becoming divided into two camps . . . so science too is being divided into two general classes (*Generalklassen*): metaphysicians on the one hand, and physicists, or materialists, on the other.¹ The intermediate elements and conciliatory quacks, with their various appellations — spiritualists, sensationalists, realists, etc., etc.,—fall into the

¹ Here again we have a clumsy and inexact expression: instead of "metaphysicians," he should have said: "idealists." Elsewhere Dietzgen himself contrasts the metaphysicians and the dialecticians

current on their way. We aim at definition and clarity. The reactionaries who sound a retreat call themselves idealists,¹ and materialists should be the name for all who are striving to liberate the human mind from the metaphysical spell. . . . If we compare the two parties respectively to solid and liquid, between them there is a mush."²

True! The "realists," etc., including the "positivists," the Machians, etc., are all a wretched mush; they are a contemptible *middle party* in philosophy, who confuse the materialist and idealist trends on every question. The attempt to escape these two basic trends in philosophy is nothing but "conciliatory quackery."

J. Dietzgen had not the slightest doubt that the "scientific priesthood" of idealist philosophy is simply the antechamber to open priesthood. "Scientific priesthood" he wrote, "is seriously endeavouring to assist religious priesthood" (*op. cit.*, p. 51). "In particular, the sphere of epistemology, the misunderstanding of the human mind, is such a louse-hole" (*Lausgrube*) in which both kinds of priests "lay their eggs." "Graduated flunkies" who with their talk of "ideal blessings" stultify the people by their sham (*geschraubte*) "idealism" (p. 53)--that is J. Dietzgen's opinion of the professors of philosophy. "Just as the antipodes of the good God is the devil, so the professorial priest (*Kathederpaffen*) has his opposite pole in the materialist." The materialist theory of knowledge is "a universal weapon against religious belief" (p. 55), and not only against the "notorious, formal and common religion of the priests, but also against the most refined, elevated professorial religion of muddled (*benebelter*) idealists" (p. 58).

Dietzgen was ready to prefer "religious honesty" to the "half-heartedness" of freethinking professors (p. 60), for "there at least there is a system" there we find complete people, people who do not separate theory from practice. For the Herr Professors "philosophy is not a science, but a means of defence against Social-Democracy . . ." (p. 107). "All who call themselves

¹ Note that Dietzgen has corrected himself and now explains *more precisely* which is the party of the enemies of materialism.

² See the article, "Social Democratic Philosophy," written in 1876 *Kleinere philosophische Schriften*, 1903, S. 135.

philosophers, professors, and university lecturers are, despite apparent freethinking, more or less immersed in superstition and mysticism . . . and in relation to Social-Democracy constitute a single . . . reactionary mass" (p. 108). "Now, in order to follow the true path, without being led astray by all the religious and philosophical gibberish (*Welsch*), it is necessary to study the falsest of all false paths (*der Holzweg der Holzwege*), philosophy" (p. 103).

Let us now examine Mach, Avenarius and their school from the standpoint of parties in philosophy. Oh, these gentlemen *boast* of their *non-partisanship*, and if they have an antipodes, it is the *materialist* . . . and *only* the materialist. A red thread that runs through *all* the writings of *all* the Machians is the stupid claim to have "risen above" materialism and idealism, to have transcended this "obsolete" antithesis; but *in fact* the whole fraternity are, *continually* sliding into idealism and are conducting a steady and incessant struggle against materialism. The subtle epistemological crotchets of a man like Avenarius are but professorial inventions, and attempt to form a small philosophical sect "of his own"; but, *as a matter of fact*, in the general circumstances of the struggle of ideas and trends in modern society, the *objective* part played by these epistemological artifices is in every case the same, namely, to clear the way for idealism and fideism, and to serve them faithfully. In fact, it cannot be an accident that the small school of empirio-criticists is acclaimed by the English spiritualists, like Ward, by the French neo-criticists, who praise Mach for his attack on materialism, and by the German immanentists! Dietzgen's expression, "graduated flunkies of fideism," hits the nail on the head in the case of Mach, Avenarius and their whole school.¹

¹ Here is another example of how the widespread currents of reactionary bourgeois philosophy make use of Machism in practice. Perhaps the "latest fashion" in the latest American philosophy is "pragmatism" (from the Greek word "pragma"—action; that is, a philosophy of action). The philosophical journals perhaps speak more of pragmatism than of anything else. Pragmatism ridicules the metaphysics both of idealism and materialism, acclaims experience and only experience, recognizes practice as the only criterion, refers to the positivist movement in general, *especially turns for support to Ostwald, Mach, Pearson, Poincaré and Duhem* for the belief that science is not an "absolute copy of reality" and . . . successfully deduces from all this a God for practical purposes,

It is the misfortune of the Russian Machians, who undertook to "reconcile" Machism and Marxism, that they trusted the reactionary professors of philosophy and as a result slipped down an inclined plane. The methods of operation employed in the various attempts to develop and supplement Marx were not very ingenious. They read Ostwald, believe Ostwald, paraphrase Ostwald and call it Marxism. They read Mach, believe Mach, paraphrase Mach and call it Marxism. They read Poincaré, believe Poincaré, paraphrase Poincaré and call it Marxism! *Not a single one* of these professors, who are capable of making very valuable contributions in the special fields of chemistry, history, or physics, *can be trusted one iota* when it comes to philosophy. Why? For the same reason that *not a single* professor of political economy, who may be capable of very valuable contributions in the field of factual and specialized investigations, can be trusted *one iota* when it comes to the general theory of political economy. For in modern society the latter is as much a *partisan* science as is *epistemology*. Taken as a whole, the professors of economics are nothing but learned salesmen of the capitalist class, while the professors of philosophy are learned salesmen of the theologians.

The task of Marxists in both cases is to be able to master and adapt the achievements of these "salesmen" (for instance, you will not make the slightest progress in the investigation of new economic phenomena unless you have recourse to the works of these salesmen) and *to be able* to lop off their reactionary tendency, to pursue one's *own* line and to combat the *whole alignment* of forces and classes hostile to us. And this is just what our Machians were unable to do: they *slavishly* followed the lead of the reactionary professorial philosophy. "Perhaps we have gone astray, but we are seeking," wrote Lunacharsky in the name of the authors of the *Studies*. The

and only for practical purposes, without any metaphysics, and without transcending the bounds of experience (*cf.* William James, *Pragmatism. A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*, New York, 1907, pp. 57 and 106 especially). From the standpoint of materialism the difference between Machism and pragmatism is as insignificant and unimportant as the difference between empirio-criticism and empirio-monism. Compare for example, Bogdanov's definition of truth with the pragmatist definition of truth, which is: "Truth for a pragmatist becomes a class-name for all sorts of definite working values in experience" (*ibid.*, p. 68).

trouble is that it is not *you* who are seeking, but you who are *being sought!* You do not go with your, *i.e.*, Marxist (for you want to be Marxists) standpoint to every change in the bourgeois philosophical fashion: the fashion comes to you, foists upon you its new surrogates got up in the idealist taste, one day à la Ostwald, the next day à la Mach, and the day after à la Poincaré. These silly "theoretical" devices ("energetics," "elements," "introjections," etc.) in which you so naively believe are confined to a narrow and tiny school, while the ideological and *social tendency* of these devices is immediately spotted by the Wards, the neo-criticists, the immanentists, the Lopatins and the pragmatists, and *it serves their purposes*. The infatuation for empirio-criticism and "physical" idealism passes as rapidly as the infatuation for neo-Kantianism and "physiological" idealism; but *fideism* takes its toll from every such infatuation and modifies its devices in a thousand ways for the benefit of philosophical idealism.

The attitude towards religion and the attitude towards natural science excellently illustrate the *actual* class use made of empirio-criticism by bourgeois reactionaries.

Take the first question: Do you think it is an accident that in a collective work directed *against* the philosophy of Marxism Lunacharsky went so far as to speak of the "deification of the higher human potentialities" of "religious atheism," etc.?¹ If you do, it is only because the Russian Machians have not informed the public correctly regarding the *whole* Machian current in Europe and the relation of this current to religion. Not only is this relation in no way similar to the relation of Marx, Engels, J. Dietzgen and even Feuerbach, but it is its *very opposite*, beginning with Petzoldt's statement to the effect that empirio-criticism "contradicts neither theism nor atheism" (*Einführung in die Philosophie der reinen Erfahrung*, Bd. I, S. 351), or Mach's declaration that "religious opinion is a private affair," and ending with the *explicit fideism*, the explicitly *arch-reactionary* views of Cornelius, who praises Mach and whom

¹ *Studies*, pp. 157, 159. In the *Zagranichnaya Gazeta* the same author speaks of "scientific Socialism in its religious significance" (No. 3, p. 5) and in *Obrazovaniye*, 1908, No. 1, p. 164, he explicitly says: "For a long time a new religion has been maturing within me . . ."

Mach praises, of Carus and of all the immanentists. The neutrality of *a philosopher* in this question is in itself servility to fideism, and Mach and Avenarius, because of the very premises of their epistemology, do not and cannot rise above neutrality.

Once you deny objective reality, given us in sensation, you have already lost every one of your weapons against fideism, for you have slipped into agnosticism or subjectivism—and that is all fideism wants. If the perceptual world is objective reality, then the door is closed to every other “reality” or quasi-reality (remember that Bazarov believed the “realism” of the immanentists, who declare God to be a “real concept”). If the world is matter in motion, matter can and must be infinitely studied in the infinitely complex and detailed manifestations and ramifications of *this* motion, the motion of *this* matter—but beyond it, beyond the “physical,” external world, with which everyone is familiar, there can be nothing. And the hostility to materialism and the showers of abuse heaped on the materialists are all in the order of things in civilized and democratic Europe. All this is going on to this day. All this is being *concealed* from the public by the Russian Machians, who have *not once* attempted even simply to compare the attacks made on materialism by Mach, Avenarius, Petzoldt and Co., with the statements made *in favour* of materialism by Feuerbach, Marx, Engels and J. Dietzgen.

But this “concealment” of the relation of Mach and Avenarius to fideism will not avail. The facts speak for themselves. No efforts can release these reactionary professors from the pillory in which they have been placed by the kisses of Ward, the neo-criticists, Schuppe, Schubert-Soldern, Leclair, the pragmatists, etc. And the influence of the persons mentioned, as philosophers and professors, the popularity of their ideas among the “cultured,” *i.e.*, the bourgeois, public and the specific literature they have created are ten times wider and richer than the particular little school of Mach and Avenarius. The little school serves those it should serve, and it is exploited as it deserves to be exploited.

The shameful things to which Lunacharsky has stooped are not exceptional; they are the product of empirio-criticism, both Russian and German. They cannot be defended on the grounds

of the "good intentions" of the author, or the "special meaning" of his words; if it were the direct and common, *i.e.*, the directly fideistic meaning, we should not stop to discuss matters with the author, for most likely not a single Marxist could be found in whose eyes such statements would *not* have placed Anatole Lunacharsky *exactly* in the same category as Peter Struve. If this is not the case (and it is not the case *yet*), it is exclusively because we perceive the "special" meaning and are *fighting while there is still ground* for a fight on comradely lines. This is just the disgrace of Lunacharsky's statements that he *could* connect them with his "good" intentions. This is just the evil of his "theory"—that it permits the use of *such* methods or of *such* conclusions in the pursuit of good intentions. This is just the trouble—that *at best* "good" intentions are the subjective affair of Tom, Dick or Harry, while the *social significance* of such statements is undeniable and indisputable, and no reservation or explanation can weaken their effect.

One must be blind not to see the ideological affinity between Lunacharsky's "deification of the higher human potentialities" and Bogdanov's "general substitution" of the psychical for all physical nature. This is one and the same thought; in the one case it is expressed principally from the æsthetic standpoint, and in the other from the epistemological standpoint. "Substitution," approaching the subject *tacitly* and from a different angle, *already deifies* the "higher human potentialities," by divorcing the "psychical" from man and by substituting an immensely extended, abstract, divinely-lifeless "psychical in general" *for all physical nature*. And what of Yushkevich's "Logos" introduced into the "irrational stream of experience"?

A single claw ensnared, and the bird is lost. And our Machians have all become ensnared in idealism, that is, in a diluted and subtle fideism; they became ensnared from the moment they took "sensation" not as the image of the external world but as a special "element." It is nobody's sensation, nobody's mind, nobody's spirit, nobody's will—this is what one inevitably comes to if one does not recognize the materialist theory that the human mind *reflects* an objectively real external world.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS' PARTY TOWARDS RELIGION

The speech made by deputy Surkov in the State Duma during the debate on the estimates of the Synod, and the discussion that took place within our Duma fraction on the draft of this speech, which we print elsewhere in this issue, have raised a question which is of extreme importance and urgency at this particular moment. An interest in all questions connected with religion is undoubtedly being evinced today by wide circles of "society," and it has penetrated to the ranks of the intellectuals who are close to the working-class movement and to certain circles of the workers. It is the absolute duty of Social-Democrats to make a public statement of their attitude towards religion.

Social-Democracy bases its whole world outlook on scientific Socialism, i.e., Marxism. The philosophical basis of Marxism, as Marx and Engels repeatedly declared, is dialectical materialism, which fully embodies the historical traditions of the materialism of the eighteenth century in France and of Feuerbach (first half of the nineteenth century) in Germany—a materialism which is absolutely atheistic and resolutely hostile to all religion. Let us recall that the whole of Engels' *Anti-Dühring*, which Marx read in manuscript, is an indictment of the materialist and atheist Dühring for not being a consistent materialist and for leaving loopholes for religion and religious philosophy. Let us recall that in his essay on Ludwig Feuerbach, Engels reproaches Feuerbach for combating religion not in order to destroy it, but in order to renoyate it, to create a new, "exalted" religion, and so forth. Religion is the opium of the people—this dictum of Marx's is the cornerstone of the

whole Marxist view on religion, Marxism has always regarded all modern religions and churches and all religious organizations as instruments of bourgeois reaction that serve to defend exploitation and to drug the working class.

Yet at the same time Engels frequently condemned the efforts of people who desired to be "more Left" or "more revolutionary" than the Social-Democrats to introduce an explicit avowal of atheism, in the sense of declaring war on religion, into the program of the workers' party. Commenting in 1874 on the famous manifesto of the Blanquist fugitive Communards who were living in exile in London, Engels called their vociferous proclamation of war on religion foolishness, and stated that such a declaration of war was the best means of reviving interest in religion and of preventing it from really dying out. Engels blamed the Blanquists for failing to understand that only the class struggle of the working-class masses could in fact, by drawing large numbers of the proletariat into conscious and revolutionary *practical* social work, free the oppressed masses from the yoke of religion; whereas to proclaim war on religion a political task of the workers' party was just anarchistic phrasemongering. And Engels in 1877, while ruthlessly attacking in his *Anti-Dühring* every concession, even the slightest, made by Dühring the philosopher to idealism and religion, no less resolutely condemns Dühring's pseudo-revolutionary idea that religion should be prohibited in a Socialist society. To declare such a war on religion, Engels says, is to "out-Bismarck Bismarck," i.e., to repeat the folly of Bismarck's struggle against the clericals (the notorious "Struggle for Culture," *Kulturkampf*, i.e., the struggle Bismarck waged in 1870 against the German Catholic party, the party of the "Centre," by means of a police persecution of Catholicism). By this struggle Bismarck only *stimulated* the militant clericalism of the Catholics and only injured the work of real culture, because he gave prominence to religious divisions rather than political divisions and diverted the attention of certain sections of the working class and the democracy from the urgent tasks of the class and revolutionary struggle to a most superficial and mendacious bourgeois anti-clericalism. Accusing the would-be ultra-revolutionary Dühring of wanting to repeat Bismarck's folly in another

form, Engels demanded that the workers' party should know how to work patiently at the task of organizing and educating the proletariat, which would lead to the dying out of religion, and not venture into a political war on religion. This view has thoroughly permeated German Social-Democracy, which, for example, advocated freedom for the Jesuits, their admission into Germany, and the complete cessation of police methods of combating any particular religion. "Religion is a private matter"; this famous point in the Erfurt Program (1891) endorsed the political tactics of Social-Democracy mentioned.

These tactics have now managed to become a mere matter of routine; they have already managed to give rise to a new distortion of Marxism in the opposite direction, in the direction of opportunism. This point in the Erfurt Program has come to be interpreted as meaning that we Social-Democrats, that our Party *considers* religion to be a private matter, that religion is a private matter for us as Social-Democrats, for us as a Party. Without entering into a direct controversy with this opportunist view, Engels in the 'nineties deemed it necessary to oppose it resolutely in a positive, and not a polemical form. To wit: Engels did this in a statement, which he deliberately underlined, that Social-Democrats regard religion as a private matter *in relation to the state*, but not in relation to themselves, not in relation to Marxism, and not in relation to the workers party.¹

Such is the external history of the utterances of Marx and Engels on the question of religion. To people who are careless of Marxism, to people who cannot or will not think, this history is a skein of meaningless Marxist contradictions and waverings, a hodge-podge of "consistent" atheism and "sops" to religion, "unprincipled" wavering between a r-r-revolutionary war on God and a cowardly desire to "ingratiate" oneself with religious workers, a fear of scaring them away, etc., etc. The literature of the anarchist phrasemongers is full of attacks on Marxism on this score.

But anybody who is able to treat Marxism at all seriously, to ponder over its philosophical principles and the experience

¹ Cf. Engels' Introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France*.—Ed.

of international Social-Democracy, will readily see that the Marxist tactics in regard to religion are thoroughly consistent and were carefully thought out by Marx and Engels, and that what the dilettantes or ignoramus regard as wavering is but ~~a~~ direct and inevitable deduction from dialectical materialism. It would be a profound mistake to think that the apparent "moderation" of the Marxist attitude towards religion is to be explained by supposed "tactical" considerations, by the desire "not to scare away" anybody, and so forth. On the contrary, the political line of Marxism is inseparably bound up with its philosophical principles on this question too.

Marxism is materialism. As such, it is as relentlessly hostile to religion as was the materialism of the Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century or the materialism of Feuerbach. This is beyond doubt. But the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels goes further than the Encyclopedists and Feuerbach by applying the materialist philosophy to the field of history, to the field of the social sciences. We must combat religion—that is the rudiment of *all* materialism, and consequently of Marxism. But Marxism is not a materialism which stops at rudiments. Marxism goes further. It says: We must *know how* to combat religion, and in order to do so we must explain the source of faith and religion among the masses *materialistically*. The fight against religion must not be confined to abstract ideological preaching or reduced to such preaching. The fight must be linked up with the concrete practical work of the class movement, which aims at eliminating the social roots of religion. Why does religion retain its hold over the backward sections of the urban proletariat, over the broad sections of the semi-proletariat, and over the peasant mass? Because of the ignorance of the people, replies the bourgeois progressivist, the radical and the bourgeois materialist. And so, down with religion and long live atheism!—the dissemination of atheist views is our chief task. The Marxist says that this is not true, that it is a superficial view and narrow, bourgeois culturism. This view does not profoundly enough explain the roots of religion; it explains them not materialistically but idealistically. In modern capitalist countries these roots are mainly *social*. The deepest root of religion today is the social oppression of the work-

ing masses and their apparently complete helplessness in face of the blind forces of capitalism, which every day and every hour inflicts upon ordinary working people the most horrible suffering and the most savage torment, a thousand times more severe than those inflicted by extraordinary events, such as wars, earthquakes, etc. "Fear created the gods." Fear of the blind force of capital—blind because it cannot be foreseen by the masses of the people—a force which at every step in life threatens to inflict, and does inflict on the proletarian and small owner "sudden," "unexpected," "accidental" destruction, ruin, pauperism, prostitution and death from starvation—such is *the root* of modern religion which the materialist must bear in mind first and foremost if he does not want to remain an infant-school materialist. No educational book can eradicate religion from the minds of the masses, who are crushed by the grinding toil of capitalism and who are at the mercy of the blind destructive forces of capitalism, until these masses themselves learn to fight this *root* of religion, *the rule of capital* in all its forms, in a united, organized, planned and conscious way.

Does this mean that educational books against religion are harmful or unnecessary? No, nothing of the kind. It means that Social-Democracy's atheistic propaganda must be *subordinated* to its basic task—the development of the class struggle of the exploited *masses* against the exploiters.

This proposition may not be understood (or at least not immediately understood) by one who has not pondered over the principles of dialectical materialism, *i.e.*, the philosophy of Marx and Engels. How is that?—he will say: is ideological propaganda, the preaching of definite ideas, the struggle against the enemy of culture and progress for thousands of years (*i.e.*, religion) to be subordinated to the class struggle, *i.e.*, a struggle for definite practical aims in the economic and political field?

This is one of those current objections to Marxism which testify to a thorough misunderstanding of Marxian dialectics. The contradiction which perplexes those who object in this way is a real and living contradiction, *i.e.*, a dialectical contradiction, and not a verbal or fictitious contradiction. To draw

a hard and fast line between the theoretical propaganda of atheism, *i.e.*, the destruction of religious beliefs among certain sections of the proletariat, and the success, progress and conditions of the class struggle of these sections, is to reason undialectically, to transform a movable and relative boundary into an absolute boundary; it is forcibly to disconnect what is indissolubly connected in actual life. Let us take an example. The proletariat in a given district and in a given branch of industry is divided, let us assume, into an advanced section of fairly class-conscious Social-Democrats, who are, of course, atheists, and rather backward workers who are still connected with the countryside and the peasantry, still believe in God, go to church, or are even under the direct influence of the local priest, who, let us suppose, has organized a Christian labour union. Let us assume furthermore that the economic struggle in this locality has resulted in a strike. It is the duty of a Marxist to place the success of the strike movement above everything else, to vigorously resist the division of the workers in this struggle into atheists and Christians, to vigorously combat such a division. Under such circumstances, atheist propaganda may be both unnecessary and harmful—not from the philistine fear of scaring away the backward sections, of losing a seat in the elections, and so on, but from consideration for the real progress of the class struggle, which in the conditions of modern capitalist society is a hundred times better adapted to convert Christian workers to Social-Democracy and to atheism than bald atheistic preaching. He who preached atheism at such a moment and in such circumstances would only be playing *into the hands* of the priest and the priests, who desire nothing better than that the division of the workers according to their participation in the strike movement should be replaced by their division according to their beliefs in God. An Anarchist who preached war against God at all costs would in practice be helping the priests and the bourgeoisie (as the Anarchists always help the bourgeoisie *in practice*). A Marxist must be a materialist, *i.e.*, an enemy of religion: but he must be a dialectical materialist, *i.e.*, one who puts the fight against religion not abstractly, not on the basis of abstract, purely theoretical, unvarying propaganda, but concretely, on the basis of the class

struggle which is going on *in practice* and educating the masses more and better than anything else. A Marxist must be able to take cognizance of the concrete situation as a whole, must always be able to determine the boundary between anarchism and opportunism (this boundary is relative, movable and changeable, but it exists), and must not succumb either to the abstract, verbal, and in fact empty "revolutionism" of the Anarchist, or to the philistinism and opportunism of the petty-bourgeois or liberal intellectual, who fears to fight religion, forgets that this is his duty, reconciles himself to the belief in God, and is guided not by the interests of the class struggle, but by the petty and mean consideration of offending nobody, repelling nobody and scaring nobody—by the sage rule: "live and let live," etc., etc.

It is from this standpoint that all particular questions concerning the attitude of Social-Democrats to religion must be determined. For example, the question often arises whether a priest can be a member of the Social-Democratic Party, and the question is usually answered in an unqualified affirmative, the experience of European Social-Democratic Parties being cited in support. But this experience was the result not only of the application of the Marxist doctrine to the workers' movement but also of special historical conditions in Western Europe which are absent in Russia (we will say more about these conditions later), so that an unqualified affirmative in this case is incorrect. We must not declare once and for all that priests cannot be members of the Social-Democratic Party; but neither must we once and for all affirm the contrary rule. If a priest comes to us to engage in joint political work and conscientiously performs Party duties, and does not come out against the program of the Party, he may be allowed to join the ranks of Social-Democrats; for in such a case the contradiction between the spirit and principles of our program and the religious convictions of the priest would remain something that concerned him alone, his own private contradiction; and a political organization cannot examine its members to see if there is no contradiction between their views and the program of the Party. But, of course, such a case might be a rare exception even in Western Europe, while in Russia it is alto-

gether improbable. And if, for example, a priest joined the Social-Democratic Party and made it his chief and almost sole work actively to propagate religious views in that Party the Party would unquestionably have to expel him from its ranks. We must not only admit workers who preserve the belief in God into the Social-Democratic Party, but must deliberately set out to recruit them; we are absolutely against giving the slightest offence to their religious convictions; but we recruit them in order to educate them in the spirit of our program, and not to permit an active struggle against our program. We allow freedom of opinion *inside* the Party, but within certain limits, determined by freedom of grouping; we are not obliged to march shoulder to shoulder with active preachers of views that are repudiated by the majority of the Party.

Another example: should members of the Social-Democratic Party be censured equally under all circumstances for declaring "Socialism is my religion," and for advocating views corresponding to this declaration? No! The deviation from Marxism (and consequently from Socialism) is here indisputable, but the significance of the deviation, its relative importance, so to speak, may vary with circumstances. It is one thing when an agitator or a person addressing the workers speaks in this way in order to make himself better understood, as an introduction to his subject, in order to present his views more vividly in terms to which the backward masses are most accustomed. It is another thing when a writer begins to preach "God-building," or God-building Socialism (in the spirit, for example, of our Lunacharsky and Co.). While in the first case censure would be mere quibbling or even an inappropriate restriction on the freedom of the agitator, on the freedom of the use of "pedagogical" methods, in the second case party censure is necessary and essential. For some the statement "Socialism is my religion" is a form of transition *from* religion to Socialism; for others it is a form of transition *from* Socialism to religion.

Let us now pass to the conditions which in the West gave rise to the opportunist interpretation of the thesis "religion is a private matter." Of course, here we have the influence of those general factors which gave rise to opportunism in gen-

eral as a sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the workers' movement for momentary advantages. The party of the proletariat demands *that the state* should declare religion a private matter, but does not regard the fight against the opium of the people, the fight against religious superstition, etc., as a "private matter." The opportunists distort the question to mean that the *Social-Democratic Party regards religion as a private matter!*

But in addition to the usual opportunist distortion (which was not explained at all in the discussion by our Duma fraction of the speeches in the debate on religion), there are special historical conditions which have given rise to the modern, and it one may so express it excessive indifference of European Social-Democrats to the question of religion. These conditions are of a twofold nature. Firstly, the task of combating religion is the historical task of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, and in the West this task was to a large extent performed (or tackled) by bourgeois democracy in the epoch of *its* revolutions, or its attacks upon feudalism and mediaevalism. There is a tradition of bourgeois war on religion both in France and in Germany, a war which was begun long before Socialism (The Encyclopedists, Feuerbach). In Russia, because of the conditions of our bourgeois-democratic revolution, this task too falls almost entirely on the shoulders of the working class. Petty-bourgeois (*Narodnik*) democracy in our country has in this respect not done too much (as the newly-appeared Black-Hundred Cadets, or Cadet Black-Hundreds, of *Vekhi*¹ think), but rather *too little* in comparison with what has been done in Europe.

On the other hand, the tradition of the bourgeois war on religion has given rise in Europe to a specifically bourgeois *distortion* of this war by anarchism, which as the Marxists have long ago explained time and again, takes its stand on the bourgeois world outlook in spite of all the "fury" of its attacks upon the bourgeoisie. The Anarchists and Blanquists in the Latin countries, Most (who, incidentally, was a pupil

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¹ *Vekhi (landmarks)*—a symposium published by a group of prominent Cadet writers in which the Constitutional-Democrats, on behalf of the bourgeoisie expressed their gratitude to the autocracy for crushing the 1905 revolution. *Vekhi* marked the final swing over of the Russian liberals to the camp of the reaction. Ed.

of Dühring) and Co. in Germany, and the Anarchists in Austria in the 'eighties carried revolutionary phrasemongering in the struggle against religion to a *nec plus ultra*. It is not surprising that the European Social-Democrats now go to the other extreme of the Anarchists. This is quite understandable and to a certain extent legitimate, but it is not seemly of us Russian Social Democrats to forget the special historical conditions that prevailed in the West.

Secondly, in the West, *after* the national bourgeois revolutions were over, *after* the introduction of more or less complete freedom of conscience, the problem of the democratic struggle against religion had been already so forced into the historical background by the struggle of bourgeois democracy against Socialism that the bourgeois governments *deliberately* tried to divert the attention of the masses from Socialism by organizing a quasi liberal "drive" against clericalism. Such was the character of the *Kulturkampf* in Germany and of the fight of the bourgeois republicans against clericalism in France. The spread of the modern spirit of "indifference" to the fight against religion among the Social-Democrats in the West was preceded by bourgeois anti clericalism, the purpose of which was to divert the attention of the masses of the workers from Socialism. And this again is quite understandable and legitimate because Social-Democrats had to counteract bourgeois and Bismarckian anti-clericalism by *subordinating* the struggle against religion to the struggle for Socialism.

Conditions are entirely different in Russia. The proletariat is the leader of our bourgeois-democratic revolution. Its Party must be the ideological leader in the fight against every form of mediaevalism including the old official religion and every attempt to renovate it or provide it with a new or different base, etc. Therefore, while Engels comparatively mildly corrected the opportunism of the German Social-Democrats—who substituted for the demand of the workers' party that the *state* should declare religion a private matter the *declaration* that religion is a private matter for Social-Democrats and the Social-Democratic Party—it is clear that Engels would have rebuked the Russian opportunists a *hundred times* more severely for having adopted this German distortion

By declaring from the Duma tribune that religion is the opium of the people, our fraction acted quite correctly, and thus created a precedent which should serve as a basis for all utterances by Russian Social-Democrats on the question of religion. Should they have gone further and developed their atheistic arguments in greater detail? We think not. This might have incurred the danger of the fight against religion being exaggerated by the political party of the proletariat; it might have resulted in obliterating the difference between the bourgeois and the Socialist fight against religion. The first duty of the Social-Democratic fraction in the Black-Hundred Duma has been discharged with honour.

The second duty—and perhaps the most important for Social-Democrats—namely, to explain the class role of the church and the clergy in supporting the Black-Hundred government and the bourgeoisie in its fight against the working class, has also been discharged with honour. Of course, very much more might be said on this subject, and the Social-Democrats in their future utterances will know how to amplify Comrade Surkov's speech: but still his speech was excellent, and its dissemination by all Party organizations is the direct duty of our Party.

The third duty was to explain in full detail the *correct* meaning of the proposition so often distorted by the German opportunists, namely, that "religion is a private matter." This, unfortunately, Comrade Surkov did not do. It is all the more a pity because in the earlier activity of the fraction a mistake was already committed on this question by Comrade Byeloussov, which was noted at the time by the *Proletary*. The discussion in the fraction shows that the dispute about atheism has overshadowed in its eyes the question of the proper interpretation of the famous demand that religion should be regarded as a private matter. We shall not blame Comrade Surkov alone for this error of the entire fraction. Moreover, we shall frankly admit that the whole Party was at fault here for not having sufficiently explained this question, for not having sufficiently prepared the minds of Social-Democrats for the significance of Engels' remark regarding the German opportunists. The discussion in the fraction proves that it was in fact due to a confused understanding of the question and

not to a desire to ignore the teachings of Marx, and we are sure that this error will be corrected in future utterances of the fraction.

— We repeat that on the whole Comrade Surkov's speech was excellent and it should be disseminated by all the organizations. In its discussion of this speech the fraction has proved that it is fulfilling its Social-Democratic duty conscientiously. It remains to be desired that correspondence on discussions within the fraction should appear more often in the Party press so as to bring the fraction and the Party closer together, to acquaint the Party with the difficult work being done within the fraction, and to establish ideological unity in the work of the Party and the fraction

May 1909

DIFFERENCES IN THE EUROPEAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

I

The principal tactical differences in the present labour movement of Europe and America reduce themselves to a struggle against two big trends that are departing from Marxism, which has in fact become the dominant theory in this movement. These two trends are revisionism (opportunism, reformism) and anarchism (anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-socialism). Both these departures from the Marxist theory that is dominant in the labour movement, and from Marxist tactics, were to be observed in various forms and in various shades in all civilized countries during the course of the more than half-century of history of the mass labour movement.

This fact alone shows that these departures cannot be attributed to accident, or to the mistakes of individuals or groups, or even to the influence of national characteristics and traditions, and so forth. There must be radical causes in the economic system and in the character of the development of all capitalist countries which constantly give rise to these departures. A small book published last year by a Dutch Marxist, Anton Pannekoek, *The Tactical Differences in the Labour Movement* (*Die taktischen Differenzen in der Arbeiterbewegung*, Hamburg, Erdmann Dubber, 1909), represents an interesting attempt at a scientific investigation of these causes. In the course of our exposition we shall acquaint the reader with Pannekoek's conclusions, which it cannot be denied are quite correct.

One of the most profound causes that periodically give rise to differences over tactics is the very growth of the labour movement itself. If this movement is not measured by the criterion of some fantastic ideal, but is regarded as the practical movement of ordinary people, it will be clear that the enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new "recruits," the enrolment of new strata of the toiling masses, must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics, by repetitions of old mistakes by temporary reversions to antiquated ideas and antiquated methods, and so forth. The labour movement of every country periodically spends a varying amount of energy, attention and time on the "training" of recruits.

Furthermore, the speed of development of capitalism differs in different countries and in different spheres of national economy. Marxism is most easily, rapidly, completely and durably assimilated by the working class and its ideologists where large-scale industry is most developed. Economic relations which are backward, or which lag in their development, constantly lead to the appearance of supporters of the labour movement who master only certain aspects of Marxism, only certain parts of the new world conception, or individual slogans and demands, and are unable to make a determined break with all the traditions of the bourgeois world conception in general and the bourgeois-democratic world conception in particular.

Again, a constant source of differences is the dialectical nature of social development, which proceeds in contradictions and through contradictions. Capitalism is progressive because it destroys the old methods of production and develops productive forces, yet at the same time, at a certain stage of development, it retards the growth of productive forces. It develops, organizes, and disciplines the workers—and it crushes, oppresses, leads to degeneration, poverty and so on. Capitalism creates its own gravedigger, it creates itself the elements of a new system, yet at the same time without a "leap" these individual elements change nothing in the general state of affairs and do not affect the rule of capital. Marxism, the theory of dialectical materialism, is able to embrace these contradictions

of practical life, of the practical history of capitalism and the labour movement. But needless to say, the masses learn from practical life and not from books, and therefore certain individuals or groups constantly exaggerate, elevate to a one-sided theory, to a one-sided system of tactics, now one and now another feature of capitalist development, now one and now another "lesson" from this development.

Bourgeois ideologists, liberals and democrats, not understanding Marxism, and not understanding the modern labour movement, are constantly leaping from one futile extreme to another. At one time they explain the whole matter by asserting that evil-minded persons are "inciting" class against class—at another they console themselves with the assertion that the workers' party is "a peaceful party of reform." Both anarcho-syndicalism and reformism—which seize upon *one* aspect of the labour movement, which elevate one-sidedness to a theory, and which declare such tendencies or features of this movement as constitute a specific peculiarity of a given period, of given conditions of working-class activity, to be mutually exclusive—must be regarded as a direct product of this bourgeois world conception and its influence. But real life, real history, *includes* these different tendencies, just as life and development in nature include both slow evolution and rapid leaps, breaks in continuity.

The revisionists regard as mere phrasemongering all reflections on "leaps" and on the fundamental antithesis between the labour movement and the whole of the old society. They regard reforms as a partial realization of Socialism. The anarcho-syndicalist rejects "petty work," especially the utilization of the parliamentary platform. As a matter of fact, these latter tactics amount to waiting for the "great days" and to an inability to muster the forces which create great events. Both hinder the most important and most essential thing, namely, the concentration of the workers into big, powerful and properly functioning organizations, capable of functioning properly under *all* circumstances, permeated with the spirit of the class struggle, clearly realizing their aims and trained in the true Marxist world conception.

We shall here permit ourselves a slight digression and note

in parenthesis, so as to avoid possible misunderstanding, that Pannekoek illustrates his analysis *exclusively* by examples taken from West European history, especially the history of Germany and France, and *entirely* leaves Russia out of account. If it appears at times that he is hinting at Russia, it is only because the basic tendencies which give rise to definite departures from Marxist tactics are also to be observed in our country, despite the vast difference between Russia and the West in culture, customs, history and economy.

Finally, an extremely important cause producing differences among the participants in the labour movement lies in the changes in tactics of the ruling classes in general, and of the bourgeoisie in particular. If the tactics of the bourgeoisie were always uniform, or at least homogeneous, the working class would rapidly learn to reply to them by tactics also uniform or homogeneous. But as a matter of fact, in every country the bourgeoisie inevitably works out two systems of rule, two methods of fighting for its interests and of retaining its rule, and these methods at times succeed each other and at times are interwoven with each other in various combinations. They are, firstly the method of force, the method which rejects all concessions to the labour movement, the method of supporting all the old and obsolete institutions, the method of irreconcilably rejecting reforms. Such is the nature of the conservative policy which in Western Europe is becoming less and less a policy of the agrarian classes and more and more one of the varieties of bourgeois policy in general. The second method is the method of "liberalism," which takes steps towards the development of political rights, towards reforms, concessions and so forth.

The bourgeoisie passes from one method to the other not in accordance with the malicious design of individuals, and not fortuitously, but owing to the fundamental contradictions of its own position. Normal capitalist society cannot develop successfully without a consolidated representative system and without the enjoyment of certain political rights by the population, which is bound to be distinguished by its relatively high "cultural" demands. This demand for a certain minimum of culture is created by the conditions of the capitalist mode of

production itself, with its high technique, complexity, flexibility, mobility, rapidity of development of world competition, and so forth. The oscillations in the tactics of the bourgeoisie, the passage from the system of force to the system of apparent concessions, are, consequently, peculiar to the history of all European countries during the last half-century, while, at the same time, various countries chiefly develop the application of one method or the other at definite periods. For instance, England in the 'sixties and 'seventies was a classical country of "liberal" bourgeois policy. Germany in the 'seventies and 'eighties adhered to the method of force, and so on.

When this method prevailed in Germany, a one-sided echo of this system, one of the systems of bourgeois government, was the growth of anarcho-syndicalism, or anarchism, as it was then called, in the labour movement (the "Young" at the beginning of the 'nineties, Johann Most at the beginning of the 'eighties). When in 1890 the change towards "concessions" took place, this change, as is always the case, proved to be even more dangerous to the labour movement, and gave rise to an equally one-sided echo of bourgeois "reformism": opportunism in the labour movement. "The positive and real aim of the liberal policy of the bourgeoisie," Pannekoek says, "is to mislead the workers, to cause a split in their ranks to transform their policy into an impotent adjunct of an impotent, always impotent and ephemeral, sham reformism."

Not infrequently, the bourgeoisie for a certain time achieves its object by a "liberal" policy, which, as Pannekoek justly remarks, is a "more crafty" policy. A part of the workers and a part of their representatives at times allow themselves to be deceived by sham concessions. The revisionists declare the doctrine of the class struggle to be "antiquated," or begin to conduct a policy which in fact amounts to a renunciation of the class struggle. The zigzags of bourgeois tactics intensify revisionism within the labour movement and not infrequently exacerbate the differences within the labour movement to the pitch of a direct split.

All causes of the kind indicated give rise to differences on questions of tactics within the labour movement and within the proletarian ranks. But there is not and cannot be a Chinese

wall between the proletariat and the strata of the petty bourgeoisie contiguous to it, including the peasantry. It is clear that the passing of certain individuals, groups and strata of the petty bourgeoisie into the ranks of the proletariat is bound, in its turn, to give rise to vacillations in the tactics of the latter.

The experience of the labour movement of various countries helps us to understand from the example of concrete practical questions the nature of Marxist tactics; it helps the younger countries to distinguish more clearly the true class significance of the departures from Marxism and to combat these departures more successfully.

December 1910

CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM

Our doctrine—said Engels, referring to himself and his famous friend—is not a dogma, but a guide to action. This classical statement stresses with remarkable force and expressiveness that aspect of Marxism which is constantly being lost sight of. And by losing sight of it, we turn Marxism into something one-sided, disfigured and lifeless; we deprive it of its living soul; we undermine its basic theoretical foundations—dialectics, the doctrine that historical development is all-embracing and full of contradictions; we sever its connection with the definite practical tasks of the epoch, which may change with every new turn of history.

And, indeed, in our time people are very frequently to be met with among those interested in the fate of Marxism in Russia who lose sight precisely of this aspect of Marxism. Yet, it must be clear to everybody that in recent years Russia has undergone changes so abrupt as to alter the situation with unusual rapidity and unusual force—the social and political situation, which in a most direct and immediate manner determines the conditions of action, and, hence, the aims of action. I am not referring, of course, to general and fundamental aims, which do not change with turns of history so long as the fundamental relations between classes do not change. It is perfectly obvious that this general trend of economic (and not only economic) evolution in Russia, like the fundamental relations between the various classes of Russian society, has not changed during, say, the last six years.

But the aims of direct and immediate action have changed very markedly during this period, just as the concrete social

and political situation has changed—and, *consequently*, in Marxism too, since it is a living doctrine, *various* sides *were* bound to come to the fore.

• In order to make this thought clear, let us take a glance at the change that has taken place in the concrete social and political situation during the past six years. We at once discern two three-year periods into which this six-year period falls, the one ending roughly with the summer of 1907, and the other with the summer of 1910. The first three-year period, regarded from the purely theoretical standpoint, is distinguished by rapid changes in the fundamental features of the state system in Russia. The course of these changes was very uneven and the amplitude of oscillations in both directions was very great. The social and economic basis of these changes in the “superstructure” was the action of *all* classes of Russian society in the *most varying* fields (activity inside and outside the Duma, the press, unions, meetings, and so forth), so open and impressive and on such a mass scale as is not often to be observed in history.

The second three-year period, on the contrary, was distinguished—we repeat that we are here confining ourselves to the purely theoretical “sociological” standpoint—by an evolution so slow that it almost amounted to stagnation. There were no changes at all noticeable in the state system. There were no, or almost no open and variegated actions by the *classes* in the majority of the “arenas” in which these actions were enacted in the preceding period.

The similarity between the two periods consisted in the fact that the evolution of Russia in both periods remained the same as before, capitalist evolution. The contradiction between this economic evolution and the existence of a number of feudal, mediaeval institutions was not removed and also remained as before in consequence of the fact that the assumption of a partially bourgeois character by certain institutions could only aggravate rather than ameliorate this contradiction.

The difference between the two periods consisted in the fact that during the first of these periods the foreground of the historical arena was occupied by the question of what exact form the result of the rapid and uneven changes afore-mentioned would take. The content of these changes was bound

to be bourgeois owing to the capitalist character of the evolution of Russia. But there is a bourgeoisie and a bourgeoisie. The middle and big bourgeoisie, which professed a more or less moderate liberalism, was, owing to its very class position, afraid of abrupt changes and strove for the retention of large remnants of the old institutions both in the agrarian system and in the political "superstructure." The rural petty bourgeoisie, which is interwoven with the peasantry that lives by "the labour of its own lands," was bound to strive for bourgeois reforms of a different kind, reforms that would leave far less room for mediaeval survivals. The wage-labourers, to the extent that they consciously realized what was going on around them, were bound to work out for themselves a definite attitude towards this clash of two distinct tendencies, both of which remained within the framework of the bourgeois system, but which determined entirely different forms for it, entirely different rates of its development, different degrees of its progressive influences.

In this way, the period of the past three years, not fortuitously but necessarily, brought to the forefront in Marxism those problems which are usually referred to as problems of tactics. Nothing is more erroneous than the opinion that the disputes and differences that arose over these questions were "intellectual" disputes, that they were "a struggle for influence over the immature proletariat," that they were an expression of the "adaptation of the intelligentsia to the proletariat," as all the *Vekha*-ites of various kinds think. On the contrary, it was precisely because this class had reached maturity that it could not remain indifferent to the clash of the two different tendencies in the entire bourgeois development of Russia, and the ideologists of this class could not avoid providing theoretical formulations corresponding directly or indirectly, in direct or reverse reflection) to these different tendencies.

In the second three-year period the clash between the different tendencies of bourgeois development in Russia was *not* on the order of the day, because *both* these tendencies were being crushed by the "die-hards," forced back, driven inwards and, for the time being, smothered. The mediaeval die-hards not only occupied the foreground but also inspired broad sec-

tions of bourgeois society with *Vekha*-ite sentiments, with a spirit of despondency and recantation. It was not the collision between two methods of reforming the old order that appeared on the surface, but a loss of faith in reforms of all kinds, a spirit of "meekness" and "repentance," and infatuation for anti-social doctrines, a fad of mysticism, and so on.

And this astonishingly abrupt change was not fortuitous, nor was it the result of "external" pressure alone. The preceding period had so profoundly stirred up strata of the population who for generations and centuries had stood aloof from, and were strangers, to political questions, that "a revaluation of all values," a new study of fundamental problems a new interest in theory, in elements, in a study beginning with the rudiments, arose naturally and inevitably. The millions, suddenly awakened from their long sleep, and suddenly confronted with extremely important problems, could not remain on this level long, could not carry on without a respite, without a return to elementary questions, without a new training which would help them to "digest" lessons of unparalleled richness and make it possible for incomparably wider masses again to march forward, but now far more firmly, more consciously, more assuredly and more persistently.

The dialectics of historical development was such that in the first period it was the accomplishment of immediate reforms in every sphere of the country's life that was on the order of the day, while in the second period on the order of the day was the study of experience, its assimilation by wider strata, its penetration, if one may so express it, to the subsoil, to the backward ranks of the various classes.

It is precisely because Marxism is not a lifeless dogma not a final, finished and ready-made doctrine, but a living guide to action that it was bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life. A reflection of the change was a profound disintegration and disunity, vacillations of all kinds, in a word, a very serious *internal* crisis of Marxism. The necessity of putting up a determined resistance to this disintegration of waging a determined and persistent struggle on behalf of the *foundations* of Marxism was again on the order of the day. In the preceding period, extremely wide sec-

REFORMISM IN THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL- DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The tremendous progress which capitalism has made in recent decades and the rapid growth of the working-class movement in all the civilized countries have brought about a marked change in the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Instead of carrying on an open, principled and direct fight against all the fundamental tenets of Socialism and in defence of the complete inviolability of private property and the freedom of competition, the bourgeoisie of Europe and America—as represented by its ideologists and political leaders—is coming out ever more frequently in defence of so-called social reforms as opposed to the idea of social revolution. Not liberalism versus Socialism, but reformism versus Socialist revolution—that is the formula of the modern, “advanced,” educated bourgeoisie. And the higher the development of capitalism in a given country, the more unadulterated the rule of the bourgeoisie, and the greater the amount of political liberty, the more extensive is the application of the “most up-to-date” bourgeois slogan: reform *versus* revolution; partial patching up of the doomed regime, with the object of dividing and weakening the working class, with the object of maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, *versus* the revolutionary overthrowal of that rule.

From the viewpoint of the world-wide development of Socialism the mentioned change cannot but be regarded as a big step forward. At first Socialism fought for its existence, and it was confronted by a bourgeoisie confident of its strength and boldly and consistently defending liberalism as an integral system of economic and political views. Now Socialism has grown

into a force and, in the whole civilized world, has already proved its right to existence; it is now fighting *for power*, and the bourgeoisie, disintegrating as it is, and seeing the inevitability of its doom, is exerting every effort to defer the day of doom and to maintain its rule under the new conditions as well at the cost of half-hearted and hypocritical concessions.

The intensification of the struggle waged by the reformists against the revolutionary Social-Democrats *inside* the working-class movement is an absolutely inevitable result of the mentioned changes in the entire economic and political situation in all the civilized countries of the world. The growth of the working-class movement necessarily attracts to its ranks a certain number of petty-bourgeois elements. These elements are under the spell of bourgeois ideology. They find it difficult to rid themselves of this ideology and lapse into it again and again. We cannot conceive of the social revolution being accomplished by the proletariat without this struggle, without a clear dividing line on questions of principle between the Socialist "Mountain" and the Socialist "Gironde" being drawn *prior* to this revolution and without a complete break between the opportunist, petty-bourgeois and the proletarian, revolutionary elements of the new historic force *during* this revolution.

In Russia, the position is, at bottom, the same: only here matters are more complicated, obscured and modified as a result of the fact that we are lagging behind Europe (and even behind the advanced part of Asia), that we are still passing through the era of bourgeois revolutions. Owing to this, Russian reformism is distinguished by its particular tenaciousness, it represents, as it were, a more pernicious malady, and is much more harmful to the cause of the proletariat and of the revolution. In our country reformism emanates from two sources simultaneously. In the first place, Russia is much more a petty-bourgeois country than the countries of Western Europe. Our country therefore represents a particularly fertile soil for the frequent appearance of people, groups and trends distinguished by their contradictory, unstable, vacillating attitude to Socialism (an attitude oscillating between "ardent love" and base treachery) which is characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie in general. Secondly, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie in our

country are more prone to lose heart and to succumb to sentiments of renegacy at the failure of any *one* of the phases of our bourgeois revolution; they are more ready to renounce the aim of a complete democratic revolution which would rid Russia thoroughly of all the survivals of mediaevalism and serfdom.

We shall not dwell at length on the first source. We need only mention that there is hardly a country in the world in which such rapid "about-faces" from sympathy for Socialism to sympathy for counter-revolutionary liberalism occur as in the case of our Struves, Izgoyevs, Karaulovs, etc., etc. Yet these gentlemen are not exceptions, not isolated individuals, but representatives of widespread currents! Sentimentalists, of whom there are many outside the ranks of the Social-Democratic movement, but also a goodly number in its ranks, and who love to preach sermons against "immoderate" polemics, against "the passion for drawing dividing lines," etc., betray a complete lack of understanding as to the historical conditions which, in Russia, give rise to the "immoderate" "passion" for precipitous changes from Socialism to liberalism.

Let us turn to the second source of reformism in Russia

The bourgeois revolution has not been completed in our country. The autocracy is *trying* to find new ways of solving the problems bequeathed by that revolution and imposed by the entire course of economic development; *but it is unable to solve them*. Neither the latest step in the transformation of old tsarism into a renovated bourgeois monarchy, nor the organization of the nobility and the upper crust of the bourgeoisie on a national scale (the Third Duma), nor yet the bourgeois agrarian policy which is being enforced by the *Zemsky Nachalniks*¹—none of these "extreme" measures, none of these "last" efforts of tsarism in the *last* sphere remaining to it—the sphere of adaptation to bourgeois development—prove adequate. It does not work! Far from catching up with the Japanese, Russia. "renovated" by *such* means, is, perhaps, even beginning

¹ *Zemsky Nachalnik* - a rural district prefect appointed from the nobility who exercised police magisterial and administrative functions over the peasants. The office was introduced in 1888 and was abolished with the overthrow of tsarism in Russia.—Ed.

to fall behind China. Owing to the fact that democratic tasks have been left unfulfilled, a revolutionary crisis is still inevitable. It is ripening again, and we are heading toward it once more—along a new way, *not the same as before*, not at the same pace, and not only in the old forms—but that we are heading toward it, of that there is no doubt.

This being the situation, the tasks of the proletariat are fully and unmistakably obvious. As the only consistently revolutionary class of contemporary society, it devolves upon it to be the leader, the hegemon in the struggle waged by the whole people for a complete democratic revolution, in the struggle waged by *all* the toilers and exploited against the oppressors and exploiters. The proletariat is revolutionary only in so far as it is conscious of this idea of hegemony and applies it in life. The proletarian who is conscious of this task is a slave who has risen against slavery. The proletarian who is not conscious of the idea that his class must be the hegemon, or who renounces this idea, is a slave who fails to realize his position as a slave; at best he is a slave who fights to improve his condition as a slave, but *not one* who fights to overthrow slavery.

It is therefore obvious that the famous formula proclaimed by one of the young leaders of our reformists, Mr. Levitsky of the *Nasha Zarya*, who declared that Russian Social-Democracy must represent "*not hegemony, but a class party*," is a formula of the most consistent reformism. More than that, it is a formula of rank renegacy. When one says—*not hegemony, but a class party*—one actually assumes the attitude of the bourgeoisie, the attitude of the liberal, who says to the slave of our age, the wage worker: "Fight to improve your condition as a slave, but regard the thought of overthrowing slavery as a pernicious utopia!" Compare Bernstein's famous formula—"The Movement is everything, the ultimate goal is nothing"—with Levitsky's formula, and you will see that they are variations of the same idea. In both cases *only* reforms are recognized, while revolution is renounced. Bernstein's formula is broader in scope, for it envisages a Socialist revolution (=the ultimate goal of Social-Democracy, as a part of bourgeois society). Levitsky's formula is narrower; for

while it renounces revolution in general, it is particularly meant to renounce what nettled the liberals most in 1905-07—namely, the fact that the proletariat *wrested* from the liberals the leadership of the masses of the people (particularly of the peasantry) in the struggle for a complete democratic revolution.

To preach to the workers that they need “*not* hegemony, *but* a class party,” means to betray the cause of the proletariat to the liberals; it means preaching that the *Social Democratic* labour policy should be superseded by a *liberal* labour policy.

The renunciation of the idea of hegemony, however, is the grossest variety of reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic movement, and that is why not all the Liquidators¹ make hold to express their ideas in such definite terms. Some of them (Mr. Martov, for instance) even try, in derision of the truth, to deny that there is a connection between the renunciation of hegemony and liquidationism.

A more “subtle” attempt to “substantiate” the reformist views is the following argument: The bourgeois revolution in Russia is at an end; after 1905 there can be no second bourgeois revolution, there can be no repetition of the nation-wide struggle for a democratic revolution; therefore there is no prospect of a *revolutionary* crisis in Russia; there is only the prospect of a “constitutional” crisis, and all that remains for the working class to do is to take care to defend its rights and interests on the basis of that “constitutional crisis.” Those are the arguments set forth by the Liquidator Y. Larin in the *Dyelo Zhizni* (and previously in the *Vozrozhdeniye*).

“October 1905 is not on the order of the day,” wrote Mr. Larin. “If the Duma were abolished, it would be restored more rapidly than in post-revolutionary Austria, which abolished the constitution in 1851 only to recognize it again in 1860, nine years later, without any revolution [note this!], simply be-

¹ This was the appellation given to the Mensheviks who in the years of reaction following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution renounced the revolutionary policy of the Party and endeavoured to liquidate the revolutionary, illegal Party of the proletariat. The Liquidators advocated the formation of an “open” labour party which was to function legally with the consent of the arch-reactionary Stolypin government in office at the time. *Ed*

cause it was in the interests of the most influential section of the ruling classes, which had reconstructed its economy on capitalist lines." "At the present stage a *nation-wide* revolutionary movement like that of 1905 's impossible."

All these reflections by Mr. Larin are nothing more than an enlarged rehash of what Mr. Dan said at the Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in December 1908. Arguing against the resolution which stated that the "*fundamental* factors of economic and political life, which gave rise to the revolution of 1905, *continue to operate*," that a new—revolutionary and not "constitutional"—crisis was developing, the editor of the Liquidators' *Golos* exclaimed: "They [*i.e.*, the R.S.D.L.P.] want to push to where they once met with defeat."

To "push" again toward revolution, to work tirelessly—in the changed situation—to propagate the idea of revolution and to prepare the forces of the working class for it—that, from the standpoint of the reformists, is the chief crime of the R.S.D.L.P., that is what constitutes the *guilt* of the revolutionary proletariat. It's no use "pushing to where we once met with defeat"—such is the wisdom of renegades and of persons who lose heart after any defeat.

But in countries older and more "experienced" than Russia the revolutionary proletariat showed its ability to "push to where it once met with defeat" two, three, four times; in France it accomplished *four* revolutions in the period from 1789 to 1871, rising again and again after the most severe defeats and achieving a republic, in which it now faces its *last* enemy—the advanced bourgeoisie; a republic, which is the only form of government corresponding to the conditions required for the final struggle for the victory of Socialism.

Such is the distinction between Socialists and liberals, or adherents of the bourgeoisie. The Socialists teach that revolution is inevitable, and that the proletariat must take advantage of *all* the contradictions in the life of society, of every weakness of its enemies or of the intermediate strata, to prepare for a new revolutionary struggle, to repeat the revolution in a broader arena, with the population more developed. The bourgeoisie and the liberals teach that revolutions are unnecessary and even harmful for the workers, that the latter must not

"push" toward revolution, but, like good boys, work modestly for reforms.

That is why, in order to divert the Russian worker *from* Socialism, the reformists—who are the captives of bourgeois ideas—*constantly* refer to the example of *Austria* (as well as *Prussia*) in the 1860's. Why are they so fond of referring precisely to these examples? Y. Larin let the cat out of the bag; because in these countries, after the "unsuccessful" revolution of 1848, the bourgeois transformation was consummated "*without any revolution*."

That is the crux of the matter! That is what gladdens their hearts. For that seems to indicate that bourgeois change is possible *without* revolution!! And if that is the case, why should we Russians bother our heads about a revolution? Why not leave it to the landlords and factory-owners to effect the bourgeois transformation of Russia, too, "*Without any revolution*"?!

It was because the proletariat in Austria and Prussia was weak that it was unable to prevent the agrarians and the bourgeoisie from effecting the transformation in a way that ran *counter* to the interests of the workers, in a form *most prejudicial* to the workers, preserving the monarchy, the privileges of the nobility, their arbitrary rule in the countryside, and a host of other survivals of mediaevalism.

The Russian reformists—after our proletariat displayed in 1905 a strength unparalleled in any bourgeois revolution in the West—fall back upon the examples of the weakness of the working class in other countries, forty or fifty years ago, in order to justify *their own* renegacy, to adduce "grounds" for *their own* propaganda of renegacy!

Austria and Prussia of the 1860's, to which our reformists are so fond of referring, furnish the best example proving the theoretical fallacy of their arguments and their desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie in practical politics.

Indeed: What does the fact that Austria restored the constitution which had been abolished after the defeat of the Revolution of 1848, and that an "era of crisis" was ushered in in Prussia in the 1860's, prove? It proves, primarily, that the bourgeois transformation of these countries had not been consummated. To maintain that the system of government in

Russia has *already* become bourgeois (as Larin says), and that it is now wrong to speak of the feudal nature of governmental power in our country (see the writings of the same Larin), and at the same time to refer to Austria and Prussia as an example, is to refute oneself! It would be ridiculous, in general, to deny that the bourgeois transformation of Russia has not been completed; the very policy of the bourgeois parties of the Constitutional-Democrats and the Octobrists proves this beyond the shadow of a doubt, and Larin himself (as we shall see further down) surrenders his position. It cannot be denied that the monarchy has taken one more step to adapt itself to bourgeois development—as we have said before, and as has been pointed out in the resolution adopted by the Party (December 1908). But it is still more undeniable that *even* this adaptation, *even* bourgeois reaction, and the Third Duma, and the agrarian law of November 9, 1906 (and June 14, 1910) do *not* solve the problems of Russia's bourgeois transformation.

Further: Why did the "crises" in Austria and in Prussia in the 1860's *turn out* to be "constitutional," and not revolutionary, crises? Because there was a number of special circumstances which served to ease the difficult position of the monarchy (the "revolution from above" in Germany, her unification by the method of "iron and blood"); because the proletariat in those countries was at that time extremely weak and undeveloped, and the liberal bourgeoisie was distinguished by base cowardice and treachery, just as the Russian Cadets are in our day.

To show how the German Social-Democrats themselves—those among them who were eye-witnesses of the events of those years—appraise the situation, we shall cite some opinions expressed by Bebel in his memoirs (*Pages From My Life*), the first part of which was published last year. As regards the events that took place in 1862, the year of the "constitutional" crisis in Prussia, Bismarck, as has become known subsequently, related that the king had at that time given way to utter despair, lamented his fate, and blubbered in his, Bismarck's, presence that they were both going to die on the scaffold. Bismarck had reassured the coward and persuaded him not to shrink from giving battle

"These events show," says Bebel, "what the liberals might have achieved had they taken advantage of the situation. But they were already afraid of the workers who backed them. Bismarck's words that if he was driven to extremes, he would set Acheron in motion [*i.e.*, rouse the "nether world," the lower classes, the masses of the people], struck fear into their hearts."

Half a century after the "constitutional" crisis which consummated the transformation of his country into a bourgeois-Junker monarchy "without any revolution," the leader of the German Social-Democrats speaks of the *revolutionary* possibilities of the situation at that time, which the liberals did not take advantage of owing to their fear of the workers. The leaders of the Russian reformists say to the Russian workers. Since the German bourgeoisie was so base as to cower before the cowering king, why shouldn't we *too* try to copy those splendid tactics of the German bourgeoisie? Bebel accuses the bourgeoisie of having, owing to its exploiter's fear of the popular movement, failed to "take advantage" of the "constitutional" crisis to effect a revolution. Larin and Co. accuse the Russian workers of having striven for hegemony (*i.e.*, to draw the masses into the revolution in spite of the liberals), and advise them to organize "*not* for revolution," *but* "for the purpose of defending their interests in the forthcoming constitutional renovation of Russia." The rotten views of the rotten German liberals are presented by the Liquidators to the Russian workers as being "Social-Democratic" views! How, after this, can one help calling such Social-Democrats Stolypin Social-Democrats?

In appraising the "constitutional" crisis of the 1860's in Prussia, Bebel does not confine himself to the statement that the bourgeoisie was afraid to fight the monarchy because it was afraid of the workers. He also tells us what was going on among the workers at that time. "The appalling state of public affairs," he says, "of which the workers were becoming ever more keenly aware, naturally affected their mood. Everywhere there was a clamour for change. But since there was no leadership fully conscious of the needs, having a clear vision of the goal, and enjoying confidence; and since there existed no

strong organization that could rally the forces, the mood petered out (*verpuffte*). Never did a movement, so splendid in its essence (*in Kern vortreffliche*), turn out to be so futile in the end. All the meetings were packed, and the most vehement speakers were hailed as the heroes of the day. This was the prevailing mood particularly in the workers' Educational Society at Leipzig." A mass meeting in Leipzig on May 8, 1866, attended by 5,000 people, unanimously adopted a resolution proposed by Liebknecht and Bebel, which demanded the convocation, on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and secret ballot, of a parliament relying on the universally armed people. The resolution also expressed the "hope that the German people will elect as deputies only persons who repudiate every hereditary central government power." The resolution proposed by Liebknecht and Bebel was thus unmistakably revolutionary and republican in character.

Thus we see that at the time of the "constitutional" crisis the leader of the German Social-Democrats advocated at mass meetings resolutions of a republican and revolutionary nature. Half a century later, recalling his youth and telling the younger generation of the events of days long gone by, he stresses most of all his regret that at that time there was no leadership sufficiently class-conscious and understanding the revolutionary tasks (*i.e., there was no revolutionary Social-Democratic Party understanding the task implied by hegemony*); that there was no strong organization, that the revolutionary 'mood "petered out." Yet the leaders of the Russian reformists, showing the profundity of Ivan the Fool, refer to the example of Austria and Prussia in the 1860's as proving that things can be achieved 'without any revolution"! And these paltry philistines who have succumbed to the fumes of counter-revolution, and are the ideological slaves of liberalism, still dare to dishonour the name of the R.S.D.L.P.!

To be sure, among the reformists who have broken with Socialism there are people who substitute for Larin's straightforward opportunism the diplomatic tactics of beating about the bush when dealing with the most important and fundamental questions of the working-class movement. They try to confuse the issue, to muddle the ideological controversies, to defile them,

as Mr. Martov, for instance, does when he asserts in the legally-published press (that is to say, where he is protected by Stoly-pin from a direct retort by members of the R.S.D.L.P.) that Larin and "the orthodox Bolsheviks in the resolutions of 1908" propose an *identical* "scheme." This is a distortion of the facts worthy of this author of scurrilous writings. The same Martov, pretending to argue against Larin, declared in print that he, "of course" does "not suspect Larin of reformist tendencies." Martov *does not suspect* Larin, who espouses *purely* reformist views, of being a reformist!! This is an example of the tricks to which the diplomats of reformism resort.¹ The same Martov, whom some simpletons regard as being more "left," and a more reliable revolutionary, than Larin, summed up his "differences" with the latter in the following words:

"To sum up: quite sufficient evidence for the theoretical substantiation and political justification of what the Mensheviks who remain true to Marxism are now doing is contained in the fact that the present regime is an inherently contradictory combination of absolutism and constitutionalism, and that the Russian working class has sufficiently matured to follow the example of the workers of the progressive countries of the West in striking at this regime through the Achilles heel of its contradictions."

No matter how hard Martov tried to evade the issue, the result of his very first attempt at a summary was that all his evasions collapsed of themselves. The words quoted above represent a complete renunciation of Socialism and its supersession by liberalism. What Martov proclaims as "quite sufficient" is sufficient *only* for the liberals, *only* for the bourgeoisie. A proletarian who considers it "quite sufficient" to recognize the contradictory nature of the combination of absolutism and constitutionalism accepts the standpoint of a *liberal labour* policy. He is *no* Socialist, he does *not* understand the tasks of his *class* which demand that the masses of the people, the

¹ Cf. the just remarks made by the pro-Party Menshevik Dnevitsky in No. 3 of the *Discussion Bulletin* (supplement to the Central Organ of our Party) on Larin's reformism and Martov's evasions. (Pro Party Mensheviks—a group rallying around Plekhanov who, unlike the Menshevik Liquidators, advocated that the illegal proletarian Party be preserved and strengthened.—Ed.)

masses of toilers and exploited, be roused against absolutism in all its forms, that they be roused to intervene *independently* in the historic destinies of the country, and to oppose their action to the vacillations or counter-action of the bourgeoisie. But the independent historical action of the masses who have rid themselves of the hegemony of the bourgeoisie turns a "constitutional" crisis into a *revolution*. The bourgeoisie (particularly after 1905) fears revolution and loathes it; the proletariat, on the other hand, educates the masses of the people in the spirit of devotion to the idea of revolution, explains its tasks, and prepares the masses for ever new revolutionary battles. Whether the revolution materializes, when and under what circumstances—that does not depend on the will of one class or another; but the revolutionary work carried on among the masses is never wasted. Only this kind of work is to be regarded as activity which prepares the masses for the victory of Socialism. Messrs. Larin and Martov forget these elementary, ABC truths of Socialism.

Larin, who expresses the views of the group of Russian Liquidators who have completely broken with the R.S.D.L.P., does not hesitate to cross all the t's and dot all the i's in expounding his reformism. Here is what he writes in the *Dyelo Zhizni* (1911, No. 2)—and these words should be remembered by everyone who holds the principles of Social-Democracy dear:

"A state of perplexity and uncertainty, when people simply do not know what to expect of the coming day, what tasks to set themselves—that is what results from indefinite waiting moods, from vague hopes of either a repetition of the revolution or of 'we shall see later on.' The immediate task is, not to indulge in fruitless waiting by the sea in expectation of fair weather, but to permeate broad circles with the guiding idea that, in the new historical period of Russian life that has set in, the working class must organize itself not 'for revolution,' not 'in expectation of a revolution,' but simply [note the *but simply*. . .] for the determined and systematic *defence* of its special interests in all spheres of life; for the *gathering* and training of its forces in the course of this many-sided and complex activity; for the *training* and accumulation in this way of Socialist consciousness in general; for acquiring the *ability* to orientate itself (to find its bearings)—and to stand up for itself—particularly in the complicated relations among the social classes of Russia during the forthcoming constitutional renovation of the country after the economically inevitable self exhaustion of feudal reaction. . . ."

That is consummate, frank, smug reformism of the purest water. War against the idea of revolution, against the "hopes" for revolution (in the eyes of the reformist such "hopes" are *vague*, because he does not comprehend the depth of the contemporary economic and political contradictions); war against every activity whose purpose is to organize the forces and prepare the minds for revolution; war waged in the legally published press, protected by Stolypin from a direct retort by revolutionary Social-Democrats; war waged in the name of a group of legalists who have completely broken with the R.S.D.L.P.—this is the program and tactics of the Stolypin labour party¹ which Messrs. Potresov, Levitsky, Larin and Co. are out to create. The real program and the real tactics of these people are expressed in precise terms in the above quotation—in contradistinction to their hypocritical official assurances that they are "*also* Social-Democrats," that they "*also*" belong to the "irreconcilable International." These assurances are but window dressings. Their deeds, their real social substance, are expressed in this program, which substitutes for Socialism a liberal labour policy.

Just note the ridiculous contradictions in which the reformists become involved. If, as Larin says, the bourgeois revolution in Russia has been completed, then the Socialist revolution should be on the order of the day. That is self-evident; it is clear to anyone who professes to be a Socialist not for the sake of deceiving the workers by a popular appellation. *That* is all the more reason why we should organize "for revolution" (for Socialist revolution), "in expectation" of a revolution, for the sake of the "hope" (not a vague "hope," but a *certainly*, based on precise and multiplying data of science) *for a Socialist* revolution.

But that's just the rub—for to the reformist the twaddle about the completed bourgeois revolution (like the twaddle about the Achilles' heel, etc., to Martov) is but a verbal screen to cover up his *renunciation of all revolution*. He renounces the bourgeois-democratic revolution on the pretext that it has been completed, or that it is "quite sufficient" to recognize the

¹ This was what the Menshevik Liquidators were called ironically (see footnote to p. 268).—Ed.

contradiction between absolutism and constitutionalism; and he renounces the Socialist revolution on the pretext that "for the time being" we must "simply" organize to take part in the "forthcoming constitutional renovation" of Russia!

But if you, esteemed Cadet parading in Socialist feathers, recognize the inevitability of Russia's "forthcoming constitutional renovation," you speak against yourself; for thereby you admit that the bourgeois-democratic revolution *has not been completed* in our country. You are betraying your bourgeois nature again and again when you talk about an inevitable "*self-exhaustion* of feudal reaction," and when you sneer at the proletarian idea of *destroying*, not only feudal *reaction*, but *all* survivals of feudalism, by means of a *popular* revolutionary movement.

Despite the liberal sermons of our heroes of the Stolypin labour party, the Russian proletariat will always and invariably imbue *all* its difficult, arduous, everyday, routine and inconspicuous work, to which the era of counter-revolution has condemned it, with the spirit of devotion to the democratic revolution and to the Socialist revolution; it will organize and gather its forces for revolution; it will ruthlessly rebuff the traitors and renegades; and it will be guided, not by a "vague hope," but by the scientifically proved certainty that the revolution will come again.

September 1911

THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

(Excerpt)

VIII. KARL MARX THE UTOPIAN AND PRACTICAL ROSA LUXEMBURG¹

While declaring the independence of Poland to be a "utopia" and repeating it *ad nauseam*, Rosa Luxemburg exclaims ironically: why not raise the demand for the independence of Ireland?

Evidently, "practical" Rosa Luxemburg is unaware of Karl Marx's attitude to the question of the independence of Ireland. It is worth while dwelling upon this, in order to show how a *definite* demand for national independence was analysed from a really Marxian and not an opportunist standpoint.

It was Marx's custom to "probe the teeth," as he expressed it, of his Socialist acquaintances, testing their intelligence and the strength of their convictions. Having made the acquaintance of Lopatin, Marx wrote to Engels on July 5, 1870 expressing a highly flattering opinion of the young Russian Socialist but adding at the same time:

"... *Poland* is his weak point. On this point he speaks quite like an Englishman—say, an English Chartist of the old school—about Ireland."

¹ *Rosa Luxemburg* (1871-1919)—prominent leader of the Polish and German Social-Democratic movements and one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany; ardent revolutionary and passionate champion of the cause of the working class. V. I. Lenin highly praised Rosa Luxemburg's services to the international working class movement but at the same time took her to task for her semi-Menshevik stand on a number of highly important questions of revolutionary Marxism and particularly on the subject of the national question.—*Ed.*

Marx questions a Socialist belonging to an oppressing nation about his attitude to the oppressed nation and he at once reveals the defect common to the Socialists of the dominant nations (the British and the Russian): they fail to understand their Socialist duties towards the downtrodden nations, they echo the prejudices of the "Great Power" bourgeoisie.

Before passing on to Marx's positive declarations on Ireland, we must point out that in general the attitude of Marx and Engels to the national question was strictly critical, and that they recognized its historically relative importance. Thus, Engels wrote to Marx on May 23, 1851, that the study of history was leading him to pessimistic conclusions concerning Poland, that the importance of Poland was temporary, that it would last only until the agrarian revolution in Russia. The role of the Poles in history was one of "brave, quarrelsome stupidity."

"And one cannot point to a single instance in which Poland represented progress successfully, even if only in relation to Russia, or did anything at all of historic importance." Russia contains more elements of civilization, education, industry and of the bourgeoisie than the "Poles, whose whole nature is that of the idle cavalier.... What are Warsaw and Cracow compared to St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, etc.!" Engels had no faith in the success of an insurrection of the Polish aristocracy.

But all these thoughts, so full of genius and penetration, by no means prevented Engels and Marx from treating the Polish movement with the most profound and ardent sympathy twelve years later, when Russia was still dormant and Poland was seething.

When drafting the Address of the International in 1864, Marx wrote to Engels (on November 4, 1864) that he had to combat Mazzini's nationalism, and went on to say: "In so far as international politics come into the Address, I speak of countries, not of nationalities, and denounce Russia, not the lesser nations."

Marx had no doubt as to the subordinate position of the national question as compared with the "labour question." But his theory is as far from ignoring the national question as heaven from earth.

1866 arrives. Marx writes to Engels about the "Proudhonist clique" in Paris which "...declares nationalities to be an absurdity and attacks Bismarck and Garibaldi. As polemics against chauvinism their tactics are useful and explicable. But when the believers in Proudhon (my good friends here, Lafargue and Longuet also belong to them) think that all Europe can and should sit quietly and peacefully on its behind until the gentlemen in France abolish poverty and ignorance... they become ridiculous." (Letter of June 7, 1866.)

"Yesterday," Marx writes on June 20, "there was a discussion in the International Council on the present war.... The discussion wound up, as was to be expected, with 'the question of nationality' in general and the attitude we should take towards it.... The representatives of 'Young France' (*non-workers*) came out with the announcement that all nationalities and even nations were 'antiquated prejudices,' Proudhonized Stirnerism.... The whole world waits until the French are ripe for a social revolution.... The English laughed very much when I began my speech by saying that our friend Lafargue, etc., who had done away with nationalities, had spoken 'French' to us, *i.e.*, a language which nine-tenths of the audience did not understand. I also suggested that by the negation of nationalities he appeared, quite unconsciously, to understand their absorption into the model French nation."

The conclusion that follows from all these critical remarks of Marx is clear: the working class should be the last to make a fetish of the national question, since the development of capitalism does not necessarily awaken *all* nations to independent life. But to brush aside the mass national movements once they have started and to refuse to support what is progressive in them means, in effect, pandering to *nationalistic* prejudices, *viz.*, recognizing "one's own" as the "model nation" (or, we will add, as the nation possessing the exclusive privilege of forming a state).¹

But let us return to the question of Ireland.

¹ See also Marx's letter to Engels of June 3, 1867: "... I have learned with real pleasure from the Paris letters to the *Times* about the pro Polish sentiments of the Parisians as against Russia.... M Proudhon and his little doctrinaire clique are not the French people."

Marx's position on this question is most clearly expressed in the following extracts from his letters:

"I have done my best to bring about this demonstration of the British workers in favour of Fenianism¹. . . I used to think the separation of Ireland from England impossible. I now think it inevitable, although after the separation there may come *federation*." This is what Marx wrote to Engels on November 2, 1867.

In his letter of November 30 of the same year he added:

"...what shall we advise the *English* workers? In my opinion they must make the *repeal of the Union*" [i.e., the separation of Ireland from Great Britain] "(in short, the affair of 1783, only democratized, and adapted to the conditions of the time) into an article of their *pronunziamento*. This is the only *legal* and therefore only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be admitted in the program of an *English* party. Experience must show later whether a purely personal union can continue to subsist between the two countries. . .

"What the Irish need is:

- "(1) Self-government and independence from England;
- "(2) An agrarian revolution. . ."

Marx attached great importance to the question of Ireland and he delivered lectures of one-and-a-half-hours' duration at the German Workers' Union on this subject (letter of December 17, 1867).

Engels notes in a letter of November 20, 1868, "the hatred for the Irish among the British workers," and almost a year later (October 24, 1869), returning to this question he writes:

"*Il n'y a qu'un pas*" (it is only one step) "from Ireland to Russia. . ." "Irish history shows one how disastrous it is for a nation when it has subjugated another nation. All the abominations of the English have their origin in the Irish Pale. I have still to work through the Cromwellian period, but this much seems certain to me, that things would have taken another

¹ *Fenianism*- a movement for the national independence of Ireland which arose in 1857. The revolutionary Fenian organization functioned simultaneously in Ireland and America. At the end of the 'sixties Marx and Engels promoted an international campaign for an amnesty for the Fenian prisoners.—Ed.

turn in England but for the necessity for military rule in Ireland and the creation of a new aristocracy there."

Let us note, by the way, Marx's letter to Engels of August 18, 1869:

"In Posen . . . the Polish workers . . . have brought a strike to a victorious end by the help of their colleagues in Berlin. This struggle against Monsieur le Capital—even in the subordinate form of the strike—is a very different way of getting rid of national prejudices from that of the bourgeois gentlemen with their peace declamations."

The policy on the Irish question pursued by Marx in the International may be seen from the following:

On November 18, 1869, Marx writes to Engels that he spoke for an hour and a quarter in the Council of the International on the question of the attitude of the British Ministry to the Irish amnesty and proposed the following resolutions:

"Resolved,

"that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots . . . Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish nation;

"that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to:

"that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slave-holders' rebellion, he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

"that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that '*policy of conquest*,' by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office;

"that the *General Council of the 'International Workingmen's Association'* express their admiration of the spirited, firm and high-souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their amnesty movement;

"that these resolutions be communicated to all branches of, and workmen's bodies connected with, the '*International Workingmen's Association*' in Europe and America."

On December 10, 1869, Marx writes that his paper on the Irish question to be read at the Council of the International will be framed on the following lines:

"... quite apart from all phrases about '*international*' and '*humane justice for Ireland*'—which are to be taken for granted in the *International Council*—it is in the direct and absolute interest of the *English working class* to get rid of their present connection with Ireland. And this is my

most complete conviction, and for reasons which in part I cannot tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working-class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in *The New York Tribune* [an American journal to which Marx contributed for a long time]. Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* before it has got rid of Ireland. . . . English reaction in England had its roots . . . in the subjugation of Ireland." (Marx's italics.)

Marx's policy on the Irish question should now be quite clear to the readers.

Marx, the "utopian," was so "impractical" that he stood for the separation of Ireland, which has not been realized even half a century later. What gave rise to Marx's policy, and was it not a mistake?

At first Marx thought that Ireland would be liberated not by the national movement of the oppressed nation, but by the labour movement of the oppressing nation. Marx did not make an absolute of the national movement, knowing, as he did, that the victory of the working class alone can bring about the complete liberation of all nationalities. It is impossible to estimate beforehand all the possible correlations between the bourgeois liberation movements of the oppressed nations and the proletarian emancipation movement of the oppressing nation (the very problem which today makes the national question in Russia so difficult).

However, matters turned out so that the English working class fell under the influence of the Liberals for a fairly long time, became an appendage of the Liberals and by adopting a Liberal Labour policy rendered itself effete. The bourgeois liberation movement in Ireland grew stronger and assumed revolutionary forms. Marx reconsidered his view and corrected it "How disastrous it is for a nation when it has subjugated another nation." The English working class will never be free until Ireland is freed from the English yoke. Reaction in England is strengthened and fostered by the enslavement of Ireland (just as reaction in Russia is fostered by her enslavement of a number of nations!).

And Marx, in proposing in the International a resolution of sympathy with "the Irish nation," "the Irish people" (the

clever L. VI. would probably have berated poor Marx for forgetting about the class struggle!), advocates the *separation* of Ireland from England, "although after the separation there may come *federation*."

What were the theoretical grounds for Marx's conclusion? In England the bourgeois revolution had been consummated long ago. But it had not yet been consummated in Ireland; it is being consummated now, after the lapse of half a century, by the reforms of the English Liberals. If capitalism had been overthrown in England as quickly as Marx at first expected, there would have been no room for a bourgeois-democratic and general national movement in Ireland. But since it had arisen, Marx advised the English workers to support it, to give it a revolutionary impetus and lead it to a final issue in the interests of *their own* liberty.

The economic ties between Ireland and England in the 1860's were, of course, even closer than Russia's present ties with Poland, the Ukraine, etc. The "impracticability" and "impossibility" of the separation of Ireland (if only owing to geographical conditions and England's immense colonial power) were quite obvious. While, in principle, an enemy of federalism, Marx in this instance agrees also to federation,¹ *so long as* the emancipation of Ireland is achieved in a revolutionary and not in a reformist way, through the movement of the mass of the people of Ireland supported by the working class of England. There can be no doubt that only such a solution of the historical problem would be in the best interests of the proletariat and most favourable for rapid social development.

¹ By the way, it is not difficult to see why, from a Social-Democratic point of view the right of "self-determination" means *neither* federation *nor* autonomy. (Although, speaking in the abstract, both come under the category of "self-determination.") The right to federation is, in general, an absurdity, since federation is a two-sided contract. It goes without saying that Marxists cannot place the defence of federalism in general in their program. As far as autonomy is concerned, Marxists defend not "the right to" autonomy but autonomy *itself*, as a general, universal principle of a democratic state with a mixed national composition, with sharp differences in geographical and other conditions. Consequently, the recognition of the "right of nations to autonomy" is as absurd as the "right of nations to federation."

Things turned out differently. Both the Irish people and the English proletariat proved to be weak. Only now, through the miserable deals between the English Liberals and the Irish bourgeoisie, is the Irish problem *being solved* (the example of Ulster shows with what difficulty) through the land reform (with compensation) and autonomy (not introduced so far). Well then? Does it follow that Marx and Engels were "utopians," that they advanced "impossible" national demands, that they allowed themselves to be influenced by the Irish petty-bourgeois nationalists (there is no doubt about the petty-bourgeois nature of the Fenian movement), etc.?

No. In the Irish question too, Marx and Engels pursued a consistently proletarian policy, which really educated the masses in the spirit of democracy and Socialism. Only such a policy could have saved both Ireland and England from half a century of delay in the introduction of the necessary reforms, and could have prevented these reforms from being mutilated by the Liberals to please the reactionaries.

The policy of Marx and Engels in the Irish question serves as a splendid example (which retains immense *practical* importance to the present time) of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressing nations should adopt towards national movements. It serves as a warning against that "servile haste" with which the philistines of all countries, colours and languages hurry to declare "utopian" the idea of changing the frontiers of states that have been established by the violence and privileges of the landlords and bourgeoisie of one nation.

If the Irish and English proletariat had not accepted Marx's policy, and had not taken the separation of Ireland as their slogan, they would have displayed the worst sort of opportunism; they would have shown that they were oblivious to their duties as democrats and Socialists, and would have yielded to *English* reaction and to the *English* bourgeoisie.

February 1914

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE SLOGAN

In No. 40 of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* we reported that the conference of the foreign sections of our Party had decided to defer the question of the "United States of Europe" slogan pending a discussion in the press on the *economic* side of the question.

The debate on this question at our conference assumed a one-sidedly political character. Perhaps this was partly due to the fact that the Manifesto of the Central Committee directly formulated this slogan as a political one ("the immediate *political* slogan..." it says there), and not only did it put forward the slogan of a republican United States of Europe, but expressly emphasized the point that this slogan would be senseless and false "without the revolutionary overthrow of the German, Austrian and Russian monarchies."

It would be absolutely wrong to object to such a presentation of the question *merely* from the standpoint of a political estimation of the particular slogan—as for instance, that it obscures or weakens, etc., the slogan of a Socialist revolution. Political changes of a truly democratic trend, and political revolutions all the more, can never under any circumstances obscure or weaken the slogan of a Socialist revolution. On the contrary, they always bring it nearer, widen the basis for it, draw new sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletarian masses into the Socialist struggle. On the other hand, political revolutions are inevitable in the course of the Socialist revolution, which must not be regarded as a single act, but as an epoch of turbulent political and economic upheavals of the most acute class struggle, civil war, revolutions and counter-revolutions.

But while the slogan of a republican United States of Europe, placed in conjunction with the revolutionary overthrow of the three most reactionary monarchies in Europe, headed by the Russian, is quite invulnerable as a political slogan, there still remains the highly important question of its economic meaning and significance. From the standpoint of the economic conditions of imperialism—*i.e.*, export of capital and the fact that the world has been divided up among the “advanced” and “civilized” colonial powers—a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary.

Capital has become international and monopolistic. The world has been divided up among a handful of great powers, *i.e.*, powers successful in the great plunder and oppression of nations. The four Great Powers of Europe, England, France, Russia and Germany, with a population ranging from 250,000,000 to 300,000,000 with an area of about 7,000,000 square kilometres, possess colonies with a population of *almost half a billion* (494,500,000), with an area of 64,600,000 square kilometres, *i.e.*, almost half the surface of the globe (133,000,000 square kilometres, not including the Arctic region). Add to this the three Asiatic states, China, Turkey and Persia, which are now being torn to pieces by the marauders who are waging a “war of liberation,” namely, Japan, Russia, England and France. In those three Asiatic states, which may be called semi-colonies (in reality they are now nine-tenths colonies), there are 360,000,000 inhabitants and their area is 14,500,000 square kilometres (almost one and one-half times the area of the whole of Europe).

Further, England, France and Germany have invested capital abroad to the amount of no less than 70,000,000,000 rubles. The function of securing a “legitimate” profit from this tidy sum, a profit exceeding 3,000,000,000 rubles annually, is performed by the national committees of millionaires, termed governments, which are equipped with armies and navies and which “place” the sons and brothers of “Mr. Billion” in the colonies and semi-colonies in the capacity of viceroys, consuls, ambassadors, officials of all kinds, priests and other leeches.

This is how the plunder of about a billion of the earth's population by a handful of Great Powers is organized in the epoch of the highest development of capitalism. No other organization is possible under capitalism. Give up colonies, "spheres of influence," export of capital? To think that this is possible means sinking to the level of some mediocre parson who preaches to the rich every Sunday about the lofty principles of Christianity and advises them to give to the poor, if not several billions, at least several hundred rubles yearly.

A United States of Europe under capitalism is tantamount to an agreement to divide up the colonies. Under capitalism, however, no other basis, no other principle of division is possible except force. A billionaire cannot share the "national income" of a capitalist country with anyone except in proportion to the capital invested (with an extra bonus thrown in, so that the largest capital may receive more than its due). Capitalism is private property in the means of production, and anarchy in production. To preach a "just" division of income on such a basis is Proudhonism, is stupid philistinism. Division cannot take place except in "proportion to strength." And strength changes with the progress of economic development. After 1871 Germany grew strong three or four times faster than England and France; Japan, about ten times faster than Russia. There is and there can be no other way of testing the real strength of a capitalist state than that of war. War does not contradict the principles of private property—on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable outcome of those principles. Under capitalism the even economic growth of individual enterprises, or individual states, is impossible. Under capitalism, there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crises in industry and wars in politics.

Of course, *temporary* agreements between capitalists and between the Powers are possible. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists... but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing Socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America, which feel badly treated by

the present division of colonies, and which, for the last half century, have grown strong infinitely faster than backward. monarchist Europe, which is beginning to decay with age. Compared with the United States of America, Europe as a whole signifies economic stagnation. On the present economic basis, *i.e.*, under capitalism, a United States of Europe would mean the organization of reaction to retard the more rapid development of America. The times when the cause of democracy and Socialism was associated with Europe alone have gone forever.

A United States of the World (not of Europe alone) is the state form of national federation and national freedom which we associate with Socialism—until the complete victory of Communism brings about the total disappearance of the state, including the democratic state. As a separate slogan, however, the slogan of a United States of the World would hardly be a correct one, first, because it merges with Socialism; second, because it may be wrongly interpreted to mean that the victory of Socialism in a single country is impossible, and it may also create misconceptions as to the relations of such a country to the others.

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of Socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own Socialist production, would stand up *against* the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, raising revolts in those countries against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity coming out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states. The political form of society in which the proletariat is victorious by overthrowing the bourgeoisie, will be a democratic republic, which will more and more centralize the forces of the proletariat of the given nation, or nations, in the struggle against the states that have not yet gone over to Socialism. The abolition of classes is impossible without the dictatorship of the oppressed class, the proletariat. The free union of nations in Socialism is impossible without a more or less prolonged and

stubborn struggle of the Socialist republics against the backward states.

It is for these reasons and after repeated debates at the conference of the foreign sections of the R.S.D.L.P., and after the conference, that the editors of the Central Organ have come to the conclusion that the United States of Europe slogan is incorrect.

August 1915

ON DIALECTICS¹

The division of the one and the cognition of its contradictory parts (see the quotation from Philo on Heraclitus at the beginning of part III, "Cognition," in Lassalle's book on Heraclitus) is the *essence* (one of the "essentials," one of the principal, if not the principal, characteristics or features) of dialectics. This is precisely how Hegel also puts the matter (Aristotle in his *Metaphysics* continually *grapples* with it and *combats* Heraclitus and Heraclitean ideas).

The correctness of this side of the content of dialectics must be tested by the history of science. This side of dialectics as a rule receives inadequate attention (*e.g.*, Plekhanov); the identity of opposites is taken as the sum total of *examples* ("for example, a seed," "for example, primitive Communism") The same is true of Engels. But with him it is "in the interests of popularization . . .") and not as a *law of knowledge* (and as a law of the objective world):

In mathematics: + and —. Differential and integral.

In mechanics: action and reaction.

In physics: positive and negative electricity.

In chemistry: the combination and dissociation of atoms.

In social science: the class struggle.

The identity of opposites (their "unity," perhaps, would be more correct?—although the difference between the terms identity and unity is not particularly important here. In a certain sense both are correct) is the recognition (discovery) of the contradictory, *mutually exclusive*, opposite tendencies in

¹ Notes jotted down by Lenin in one of his *Philosophical Notebooks* following a synopsis of F. Lassalle's book: "*Philosophie von Heraklit des Dunklen aus Ephesus.*"—Ed.

all phenomena and processes of nature (*including* mind and society). The condition for the knowledge of all processes of the world in their "*self-movement*," in their spontaneous development, in their real life, is the knowledge of them as a unity of opposites. Development is the "struggle" of opposites. The two basic (or two possible? or two historically observable?) conceptions of development (evolution) are: development as decrease and increase, as repetition, *and* development as a unity of opposites (the division of the one into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal relation).

In the first conception of motion, *self-movement*, its *driving* force, its source, its motive, remains in the shade (or this source is made *external*—God, subject, etc.). In the second conception it is to the knowledge of the *source* of "*self*"-movement that attention is chiefly directed.

The first conception is lifeless, poor and dry. The second is vital. The second *alone* furnishes the key to the "self-movement" of everything in existence; it alone furnishes the key to the "leaps," to the "break in continuity," to the "transformation into the opposite," to the destruction of the old and the emergence of the new.

The unity (coincidence, identity, resultant) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute.

N.B. The distinction between subjectivism (scepticism, sophistry, etc.) and dialectics, incidentally, is that in (objective) dialectics the difference between the relative and the absolute is itself relative. To objective dialectics there is an absolute even *within* the relative. To subjectivism and sophistry the relative is only relative and excludes the absolute.

In his *Capital*, Marx first analyses the simplest, most ordinary, fundamental, most common and everyday *relation* of bourgeois (commodity) society, a relation that is encountered billions of times, *viz.*, the exchange of commodities. In this very simple phenomenon (in this "cell" of bourgeois society) analysis reveals *all* the contradictions (or the germs of *all* the contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (*both* growth *and* movement) of

these contradictions and of this society in the Σ^1 of its individual parts, from its beginning to its end.

Such must also be the method of exposition (or study) of dialectics in general (for with Marx the dialectics of bourgeois society is only a particular case of dialectics). To begin with the simplest, most ordinary, commonest, etc., *proposition*, any proposition: the leaves of a tree are green; John is a man; Fido is a dog, etc. Here already we have *dialectics* (as Hegel's genius recognized): the *singular* is the *general* (cf. Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, translated by Schwegler, Bd. II, S. 10, Buch 3, Kapitel IV, 8 und 9: "*denn natürlich kann man nicht der Meinung sein, dass es ein Haus [a house in general] gebe ausser den sichtbaren Häusern.*" "οὐ γὰρ ὁ θεωρεῖν εἶναι τινα οἰκίας παρὰ τῶν οἰκίας.")² Consequently, opposites (the singular as opposed to the general) are identical: the singular exists only in the connection that leads to the general. The general exists only in the singular and through the singular. Every singular is (in one way or another) a general. Every general is (a fragment, or a side, or the essence of) a singular. Every general only approximately comprises all the singular objects. Every singular enters into the general incompletely, etc., etc. Every singular is connected by thousands of transitions with other *kinds* of singulars (things, phenomena, processes), etc. *Here already* we have the elements, the germs, the concepts of *necessity*, of objective connection in nature, etc. Here already we have the contingent and the necessary, the appearance and the essence; for when we say: John is a man, Fido is a dog, *this* is a leaf of a tree, etc., we *disregard* a number of characteristics as *contingent*; we separate the essence from the appearance, and contrast the one to the other.

Thus in *any* given proposition we can (and must) reveal as in a ("nucleus") "cell" the germs of *all* the elements of dialectics, and thereby show that dialectics is characteristic of all human knowledge in general. And natural science shows us (and here again it must be demonstrated in *any* given simple

¹ Sum -Ed.

² For, evidently, one cannot hold the opinion that there can be a house apart from the visible houses - Fd

instance) objective nature with the same qualities, the transformation of the singular into the general, of the contingent into the necessary, transitions, modulations, and the reciprocal connection of opposites. Dialectics is the theory of knowledge of (Hegel and) Marxism. This is the "side" of the matter (it is not "a side" but the *essence* of the matter) to which Plekhanov, not to speak of other Marxists, paid no attention.

* * *

Knowledge is represented in the form of a series of circles both by Hegel (see his *Logik*) and by the modern "epistemologist" of natural science, the eclectic and foe of Hegelianism (which he did not understand!), Paul Volkmann (see his *Erkenntnistheoretische Grundzüge der Naturwissenschaft*).¹

"Circles" in philosophy: (is a chronology of *persons* essential? No!)

Ancient: from Democritus to Plato and the dialectics of Heraclitus.

Renaissance: Descartes versus Gassendi (Spinoza?).

Modern: Holbach—Hegel (via Berkeley, Hume, Kant).

Hegel—Feuerbach—Marx.

Dialectics as a *living*, many-sided knowledge (with the number of sides eternally increasing) with an infinite number of shadings of every sort of approach and approximation to reality (with a philosophical system growing into a whole out of each shade)—here we have an immeasurably rich content as compared with "metaphysical" materialism, the fundamental *misfortune* of which is its inability to apply dialectics to the *Bildertheorie*,² to the process and development of knowledge.

Philosophical idealism is *only* nonsense from the standpoint of crude, simple, metaphysical materialism. On the other hand, from the standpoint of *dialectical* materialism, philosophical idealism is a *one-sided*, exaggerated, *überschwengliches*³ (Dietzgen) development (inflation, distention) of one of the fea-

¹ *Epistemological Foundations of Natural Science*.—Ed

² Theory of reflection.—Ed

³ Extreme.—Ed

tures, sides, facets of knowledge into an absolute, *divorced* from matter, from nature, apotheosized. Idealism is clericalism. True

N. B: | But philosophical idealism is ("*more correctly*"
this | and "*in addition*") a *road* to clericalism
aphorism | *through one of the shades* of the infi-
nitely complex *knowledge* (dialectical) of man.

Human knowledge is not (or does not follow) a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates to a series of circles, a spiral. Each fragment, segment, section of this curve can be transformed (transformed one-sidedly) into an independent, complete, straight line, which then (if one does not see the wood for the trees) leads into the quagmire, into clericalism (where it is *reinforced* by the class interests of the ruling classes). Rectilinearity and one-sidedness, stiffness and petrification, subjectivism and subjective blindness—*voilà*¹ the epistemological roots of idealism. And clericalism (=philosophical idealism), of course, has *epistemological* roots, it is not groundless; it is a *sterile flower* undoubtedly, but it is a sterile flower that grows on the living tree of living, fertile, genuine, powerful, omnipotent, objective, absolute human knowledge.

1915 or 1916

¹ There you have — *Ed*

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

(Excerpt)

5. MARXISM AND PROUDHONISM ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

In contrast to the petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx regarded every democratic demand without exception not as an absolute, but as an historical expression of the struggle of the masses of the people, led by the bourgeoisie, against feudalism. There is not one of these demands which could not serve and has not served, under certain circumstances, as an instrument of the bourgeoisie for deceiving the workers. To single out in this respect one of the demands of political democracy, namely, the self-determination of nations, and to oppose it to all the rest is fundamentally wrong in theory. In practice, the proletariat can retain its independence only by subordinating its struggle for all the democratic demands, not excluding the demand for a republic, to its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, in contrast to the Proudhonists who "denied" the national problem "in the name of social revolution," Marx, mindful most of all the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat in the advanced countries, put in the foreground the fundamental principle of internationalism and Socialism, *viz.*, that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations. It was from the standpoint of the interests of the revolutionary movement of the German workers that Marx in 1848 demanded that victorious democracy in Germany should

proclaim and grant freedom to the nations oppressed by the Germans. It was from the standpoint of the revolutionary struggle of the English workers that Marx in 1869 demanded the separation of Ireland from England, and added: "although after the separation there may come federation." Only by putting forward this demand did Marx really educate the English workers in the spirit of internationalism. Only in this way was he able to set up the revolutionary solution of the given historical task against the opportunists and bourgeois reformism, which even now, half a century later, has failed to achieve the Irish "reform." Only in this way was Marx able—unlike the apologists of capital, who shout that the right of small nations to secession is utopian and impossible and that not only economic but also political concentration is progressive—to urge the progressive nature of this concentration in a *non-imperialist* manner, to urge the association of nations not by force, but by a free union of the proletarians of all countries. Only in this way was Marx able *also* in the sphere of the settlement of national questions to advocate the revolutionary action of the masses in opposition to the merely verbal, and often hypocritical, recognition of the equality and self-determination of nations. The imperialist war of 1914-16, and the Augean stables of hypocrisy of the opportunists and Kautskyists it has exposed, have strikingly confirmed the correctness of Marx's policy, which should serve as a model for all advanced countries; for all of them are now oppressing foreign nations.¹

March 1916

¹ Reference is often made—*e.g.*, recently by the German chauvinist Lensch in *Die Glocke*, Nos. 8 and 9—to the fact that Marx's objection to the national movement of certain peoples, *e.g.*, the Czechs in 1848, refutes the necessity of recognizing the self-determination of nations from the standpoint of Marxism. But this is incorrect, for in 1848 there were historical and political grounds for drawing a distinction between "reactionary" and revolutionary-democratic nations. Marx was right when he condemned the former and defended the latter. The right to self-determination is one of the demands of democracy, which must naturally be subordinated to the general interests of democracy. In 1848 and subsequent years those general interests consisted primarily in combating tsarism.

THE DISCUSSION OF SELF DETERMINATION SUMMED UP

(Excerpt)

7. MARXISM OR PROUDHONISM?

Quite as an exception, our Polish comrades parry our reference to Marx's attitude towards the separation of Ireland not by inference but directly. What is their objection? References to the position Marx held from 1848 to 1871, they say, are "not of the slightest value." The argument advanced in support of this unusually irate and positive assertion is that Marx "at one and the same time" expressed opposition to the strivings for independence of the "Czechs, South Slavs, etc."

The argument is so very irate because it is so very unsound. According to the Polish Marxists, Marx was simply a muddle-head who "at one and the same time" said contradictory things! This is altogether untrue, and it is altogether un-Marxist. The "concrete" analysis upon which our Polish comrades insist, *but do not themselves apply*, obliges us to investigate whether the different attitudes Marx adopted towards different concrete "national" movements did not spring from *one and the same* Socialist philosophy.

As is generally known, Marx was in favour of Polish independence in the interests of *European* democracy in its struggle against the power and influence—we may say, against the omnipotence and predominating reactionary influence—of tsarism. That this attitude was correct was most clearly and practically demonstrated in 1849, when the Russian serf army crushed the national liberation and revolutionary-democratic rebellion in Hungary. From that time until Marx's death, and even later, until 1890, when there was a danger that tsarism,

allied with France, would wage a reactionary war against a *non-imperialist* and nationally independent Germany, Engels stood first and foremost for a struggle against tsarism. It was for this reason, and exclusively for this reason, that Marx and Engels were opposed to the national movement of the Czechs and South Slavs. A simple comparison with what Marx and Engels wrote in 1848 and 1849 will prove to any one who is interested in Marxism not just in order to brush Marxism aside, that Marx and Engels at that time drew a clear and definite *distinction* between "whole reactionary peoples" serving as Russian outposts" in Europe, and "revolutionary peoples," namely, the Germans, Poles and Magyars. This is a fact. And this fact was indicated *at the time with incontrovertible truth*: in 1848 revolutionary peoples fought for liberty, the principal enemy of which was tsarism, whereas the Czechs, etc., were really reactionary nations, outposts of tsarism.

What is the lesson to be drawn from this concrete example, which must be analysed *concretely* if one wishes to be true to Marxism? Only this: 1) that the interests of the liberation of a number of big and very big nations in Europe stand higher than the interests of the movement for liberation of small nations; 2) that a democratic demand must not be considered in isolation but on a European—today we should say a world—scale.

Nothing more. There is not a hint in this of repudiation of the elementary Socialist principle which the Poles are forgetting but to which Marx was *always* faithful, namely, that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations. If the concrete situation which confronted Marx in the period when tsarist influence was predominant in international politics were to repeat itself, for instance, in such a form that a number of nations were to start a Socialist revolution (as a bourgeois-democratic revolution was started in Europe in 1848), while *other* nations serve as the chief bulwarks of bourgeois reaction—then we would have to be in favour of a revolutionary war against the latter, in favour of "crushing" them, in favour of destroying all their outposts, no matter what small national movements arose there. Consequently, far from rejecting examples of Marx's tactics - this would mean professing Marxism in

words while discarding it in practice—we must analyse them concretely and draw invaluable lessons from them for the future. The various demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not absolute, but a *small part* of the general democratic (now: general Socialist) *world* movement. In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected. It is possible that the republican movement in one country may be merely an instrument of the clerical or financial-monarchical intrigues of other countries; if so, we must *not* support this particular, concrete movement. But it would be ridiculous on these grounds to delete the demand for a republic from the program of international Social-Democracy.

In what way has the concrete situation changed from 1848-71 to 1898-1916 (I take the most important landmarks of imperialism as a period: from the Spanish-American imperialist war to the European imperialist war)? Tsarism has obviously and incontrovertibly ceased to be the chief mainstay of reaction, firstly, because it is supported by international finance capital, particularly French, secondly, because of 1905. At that time the system of big national states—the democracies of Europe—was conferring democracy and Socialism on the world in spite of tsarism.¹ Marx and Engels did not live to see the period of imperialism. At the present time a system of a handful of imperialist "Great" Powers (five or six in number) has come into being, each of which oppresses other nations; and this oppression is one of the sources of the artificial retardation of the collapse of capitalism, of the artificial support of opportunism and social-chauvinism in the imperialist nations which dominate the world. At that time West European democracy, which was liberating the big nations, was opposed

¹ Ryazanov published in Grünberg's *Archives of the History of Socialism* [1916 I] a very interesting article by Engels on the Polish question written in 1866. Engels emphasizes that it is necessary for the proletariat to recognize the political independence and "self-determination" ("right to dispose of itself") of the great, major nations of Europe and points to the absurdity of the "principle of nationalities" (particularly in its Bonapartist application), i.e., of levelling any small nation with these big ones. "Russia," says Engels, "possesses an enormous amount of stolen property" (i.e., oppressed nations) "which she will have to return on the day of reckoning." Both Bonapartism and tsarism utilize the small national movements for *their own* benefit, *against* European democracy.

to tsarism, which was using certain small national movements for reactionary ends. At the present time an *alliance* between tsarist imperialism and advanced capitalist, European imperialism, based on their general oppression of a number of nations, confronts the Socialist proletariat, which is split into chauvinists and "social-imperialists," on the one hand, and revolutionaries on the other.

Such are the concrete changes that have taken place in the situation, and it is just these that the Polish Social-Democrats ignore, in spite of their promise to be concrete! Hence the concrete change in the *application* of the unchanged Socialist principles: *at that time* the main thing was to be "against tsarism" (and against certain small national movements that were being utilized *by it* for anti-democratic ends), and for the big national, revolutionary peoples of the West; *at the present time* the main thing is to be against the united, straightened-out front of the imperialist powers, of the imperialist bourgeoisie, of the social-imperialists, and *for* utilizing *all* national movements against imperialism for the purposes of the Socialist revolution. The *purser* the proletarian struggle against the general imperialist front now becomes, the more urgent, obviously, becomes the internationalist principle: "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."

In the name of a doctrinaire conception of the social revolution, the Proudhonists ignored the international role of Poland and brushed the national movements aside. Equally doctrinaire is the attitude of the Polish Social-Democrats, since they *break* the international front of the struggle against the social-imperialists, (objectively) helping the latter by their vacillations on the question of annexations. For it is precisely the international front of the proletarian struggle that has changed in relation to the concrete position of the small nations: at that time (1848-71) the small nations were important as the potential allies either of "Western democracy" and the revolutionary nations or of tsarism; at the present time (1898-1914) the small nations have lost this importance; their importance now is that they are one of the sources fostering the parasitism and, consequently, the social-imperialism of the "ruling nations." The important thing is not whether one-fiftieth or one-

hundredth of the small nations will be liberated before the Socialist revolution, but the fact that in the epoch of imperialism, owing to objective causes, the proletariat has been split into two international camps, one of which has been corrupted by the crumbs that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie of the ruling nations—obtained, among other things, from the two-fold or threefold exploitation of small nations—while the other cannot liberate itself without liberating the small nations, without educating the masses in an anti-chauvinist, *i.e.*, anti-annexationist, *i.e.*, “self-determinationist” spirit.

This, the most important aspect of the question, is ignored by our Polish comrades, who do *not* view things from the central position in the epoch of imperialism, from the standpoint ~~that~~ the international proletariat is divided into two camps.

Here are other concrete examples of their Proudhonism. 1) their attitude to the Irish rebellion of 1916, of which we shall speak later; 2) the declaration in the theses (II, 3, at the end of § 3) that the slogan of Socialist revolution “must not be covered up by anything.” To think that the slogan of Socialist revolution can be “covered up” by *combining* it with a consistently revolutionary position on all questions, including the national question, is certainly profoundly anti-Marxist.

The Polish Social-Democrats consider that our program is a “national-reformist” program. Compare the two practical proposals: 1) for autonomy (Polish theses, III, 4), and 2) for freedom of secession. It is here, and here alone, that our programs differ! And is it not evident that the first proposal is reformist and not the second? A reformist change is one which leaves the foundations of the power of the ruling class intact and which is merely a concession by the ruling class that leaves its power unimpaired. A revolutionary change undermines the foundations of power. A reformist change in the national program does *not* abolish *all* privileges of the ruling nation; it does *not* establish complete equality; it does *not* abolish national oppression *in all its forms*. An “autonomous” nation does not enjoy equal rights with the “ruling” nation; our Polish comrades could not have failed to notice this had they not obstinately avoided (like our old “Economist”) an analysis of *political* concepts and categories. Until 1905 autonomous Norway, as a part

of Sweden, enjoyed the widest autonomy, but it did not enjoy equality with Sweden. Only by its free secession was its equality manifested *in practice* and proved (and let us add in parentheses that it was precisely this free secession that created the basis for a more intimate and democratic friendship founded on equality of rights). As long as Norway was merely autonomous, the Swedish aristocracy had *one* additional privilege; and this privilege was not "mitigated" by secession (the essence of reformism lies in *mitigating* an evil and not in destroying it), but *entirely removed* (the principal criterion of the revolutionary character of a program).

Be it noted, in passing, that autonomy as a reform differs in principle from freedom of secession as a revolutionary measure. This goes without saying. But as everyone knows, in *practice* a reform is often merely a step towards revolution. It is precisely autonomy which enables a nation forcibly retained within the boundaries of a given state to constitute itself completely as a nation, to gather, to ascertain and organize its forces, and to select the most opportune moment for a *declaration* . . . in the "Norwegian" spirit: We, the autonomous parliament of such and such a nation, or of such and such a territory, declare that the Emperor of all the Russians has ceased to be King of Poland, etc. To this it is usually "objected" that such questions are decided by wars and not by declarations. True: in the vast majority of cases they are decided by wars (just as the question of the forms of government of big states in the vast majority of cases is decided only by wars and revolutions). However, it would do no harm to reflect: is *such* an "objection" to the political program of a revolutionary party logical? Are we opposed to wars and revolutions *on behalf* of what is just and beneficial for the proletariat, *on behalf* of democracy and Socialism?

"But we cannot be in favour of a war between great nations, in favour of the slaughter of twenty million people for the sake of the problematical liberation of a small nation with a population of perhaps ten or twenty millions!" No, of course we cannot! But not because we throw out of our program complete national equality, but because the interests of the democracy of *one* country must be subordinated to the interests of

the democracy of *several* and of *all* countries. Let us assume that between two great monarchies there is a little monarchy whose kinglest is "bound" by blood and other ties to the monarchs of both neighbouring countries. Let us further assume that the declaration of a republic in the little country and the expulsion of *its* monarch would in practice lead to a war between the two neighbouring great nations for the restoration of some monarch or other in the little country. There is no doubt that in this case all international Social-Democracy, as well as the really internationalist section of Social-Democracy in the little country, *would be opposed to substituting a republic for the monarchy*. The substitution of a republic for a monarchy is not an absolute, but one of the democratic demands, a demand subordinated to the interests of democracy (and still more, of course, to the interests of the Socialist proletariat) as a whole. In all probability a case like this would not give rise to the slightest disagreement between Social Democrats in any country. But if any Social-Democrat were to propose on *these* grounds that the demand for a republic be deleted altogether from the program of international Social-Democracy, he would certainly be looked upon as insane. He would be told that the elementary logical difference between the *particular* and the *general* must not be forgotten.

This example brings us, from a somewhat different angle, to the question of the *internationalist* education of the working class. Can such education - about the necessity and urgent importance of which differences of opinion among the Zimmerwald Lefts¹ are inconceivable—be *concretely identical* in great, oppressing nations and in small, oppressed nations, in annexing nations and in annexed nations?

Obviously not. The way to the one goal—to complete equality, to the closest intimacy and the subsequent *amalgamation of all* nations—obviously proceeds here by different routes in each concrete case; in the same way, let us say, as the route to a point in the middle of a given page lies towards

¹ *Zimmerwald Lefts*—the Left group formed by Lenin at the First International Conference of Internationalists convened in September 1915, at Zimmerwald. The Zimmerwald Lefts united the revolutionary elements in the international Socialist movement.—Ed.

the left from one edge and towards the right from the opposite edge. If a Social-Democrat belonging to a great, oppressing, annexing nation, while advocating the amalgamation of nations in general, were to forget even for one moment that "his" Nicholas II, "his" Wilhelm, George, Poincaré, etc., *also stands for amalgamation* with small nations (by means of annexations)—Nicholas II being for "amalgamation" with Galicia, Wilhelm II for "amalgamation" with Belgium, etc.—such a Social-Democrat would be a ridiculous doctrinaire in theory and an abettor of imperialism in practice.

The weight of emphasis in the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressing countries must necessarily consist in advocating and urging them to demand freedom of secession for oppressed countries. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressing nation who *fails* to conduct such propaganda as an imperialist and a scoundrel. This is an absolute demand, even if the *chance* of secession being possible and "feasible" before the introduction of Socialism be only one in a thousand.

It is our duty to educate the workers to be "indifferent" to national distinctions. There is no doubt about that. But not to be indifferent in the spirit of the *annexationists*. A member of an oppressing nation must be "indifferent" to whether small nations belong to *his* state or to a *neighbouring* state or to themselves, according to where their sympathies lie; if he is not "indifferent" in this way he is *not* a Social-Democrat. To be an internationalist Social-Democrat one must *not* think only of one's own nation, but must place the interests of all nations, their general liberty and equality, *above one's own nation*. In "theory" everyone agrees with this, but in practice an annexationist indifference is displayed. Herein lies the root of the evil.

On the other hand, a Social-Democrat belonging to a small nation must emphasize in his agitation on the *second* word in our general formula: "voluntary *union*" of nations. He may, without violating his duties as an internationalist, be in favour *either* of the political independence of his nation *or* of its inclusion in a neighbouring state X, Y, Z, etc.

But in all cases he must fight *against* small-nation narrow-mindedness, insularity and aloofness, he must fight for the recognition of the whole and the general, for the subordination of the interests of the particular to the interests of the general.

People who have not gone thoroughly into the question think that there is a "contradiction" in Social-Democrats of oppressing nations insisting on "freedom of *secession*," while Social-Democrats of oppressed nations insist on "freedom of *union*." However, a little reflection will show that there is not, nor can there be, any *other* road leading from the *given* situation to internationalism and the amalgamation of nations, any other road to this goal. . . .

9. ENGELS' LETTER TO KAUTSKY

In his pamphlet *Socialism and Colonial Politics* (Berlin, 1907) Kautsky, who was then still a Marxist, published a letter written to him by Engels, dated September 12, 1882, which is extremely interesting in relation to the question under discussion. Here is the principal part of that letter:

"... In my opinion the colonies proper, *i.e.*, the countries occupied by a European population, Canada, the Cape, Australia, will all become independent; on the other hand, the countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated, India, Algiers, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions, must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence. How this process will develop it is difficult to say. India will perhaps, indeed very probably, make a revolution, and as the proletariat emancipating itself cannot conduct any colonial wars, this would have to be given full scope; this, of course, would not pass off without all sorts of destruction, but that sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions. The same might also take place elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Algiers and Egypt, and would certainly be the best thing *for us*. We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is reorganized, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilized countries will follow in their wake of their own accord. Economic needs alone will be responsible for this. But

as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at Socialist organization, we today can only advance rather idle hypotheses, I think. One thing alone is certain: *the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing.* Which, of course, by no means excludes defensive wars of various kinds. . . ."

Engels by no means supposes that "economics" will of itself and directly remove all difficulties. An economic revolution will be a stimulus to *all* peoples to *tend* towards Socialism; but at the same time revolutions—against the Socialist state—and wars are possible. Politics will inevitably adapt itself to economics, but not immediately and smoothly, not simply, not directly. Engels mentions as "certain" only one, absolutely internationalist, principle, which he applies to *all* "foreign nations," *i.e.*, not to colonial nations only, namely: to force blessings upon them would mean to undermine the victory of the proletariat.

The proletariat will not become holy and immune from errors and weaknesses merely by virtue of the fact that it has carried out the social revolution. But possible errors (and selfish interest-attempts to ride on the back of others) will inevitably cause it to appreciate this truth.

We Left Zimmerwaldists are all convinced of what Kautsky, for example, was convinced of before his desertion in 1914 from Marxism to the defence of chauvinism, namely, that the Socialist revolution is quite possible in the *very near* future - "any day," as Kautsky himself once put it. National antipathies will not disappear so quickly: the hatred- and perfectly legitimate hatred—of an oppressed nation for its oppressor will *continue* for a while; it will evaporate only *after* the victory of Socialism and *after* the final establishment of completely democratic relations between nations. If we desire to be faithful to Socialism we must educate the masses in internationalism now, which is impossible in oppressing nations without preaching freedom of secession for oppressed nations.

Autumn, 1916

IMPERIALISM AND THE SPLIT IN SOCIALISM

Is there any connection between imperialism and that monstrous and disgusting victory which opportunism (in the form of social-chauvinism) has gained over the labour movement in Europe?

This is the fundamental question of modern Socialism. And having in our Party literature fully established, first, the imperialist character of our epoch and of the present war, and, second, the inseparable historical connection between social-chauvinism and opportunism, as well as the intrinsic similarity of their political ideology, we can and must proceed to analyse this fundamental question.

We must begin with as precise and full a definition of imperialism as possible. Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is threefold: imperialism is 1) monopoly capitalism; 2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism; 3) moribund capitalism. The substitution of monopoly for free competition is the fundamental economic feature, the *quintessence* of imperialism. Monopoly manifests itself in five principal forms: 1) cartels, syndicates and trusts—the concentration of production has reached a stage which gives rise to these monopolistic combinations of capitalists; 2) the monopolistic position of the big banks—three, four or five gigantic banks manipulate the whole economic life of America, France, Germany; 3) seizure of the sources of *raw material* by the trusts and the financial oligarchy (finance capital is monopolistic industrial capital merged with bank capital); 4) the (economic) partition of the world by the international cartels *has begun*. Such international cartels, which command the *entire* world market and divide it “amicably” among themselves—until war

re-divides it—already number over *one hundred*! The export of capital, a highly characteristic phenomenon distinct from the export of commodities under non-monopoly capitalism, is closely connected with the economic and territorial-political partition of the world; 5) the territorial partition of the world (colonies) is *completed*.

Imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism in America and Europe, and later in Asia, fully developed in the period 1898-1914: the Spanish-American War (1898), the Anglo-Boer War (1900-02), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and the economic crisis in Europe in 1900 are the chief historical landmarks in the new era of world history.

The fact that imperialism is parasitic or decaying capitalism is manifested first of all in the tendency to decay characteristic of *every* monopoly under the system of private ownership of the means of production. The difference between the democratic republican and the reactionary monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated precisely because they are both rotting alive (which by no means precludes an extraordinarily rapid development of capitalism in individual branches of industry, in individual countries, and in individual periods). Secondly, the decay of capitalism is manifested in the creation of a huge stratum of *rentiers*, capitalists who live by "clipping coupons." In each of the four leading imperialist countries—England, U.S.A., France and Germany—capital in securities amounts to one hundred or one hundred fifty *billion* francs, from which each country derives an annual income of no less than five to eight billions. Thirdly, capital export is parasitism raised to the second power. Fourthly, "finance capital tends towards domination, not towards freedom." Political reaction *all along the line* is a concomitant of imperialism. Corruption, bribery on a huge scale, and gigantic frauds of all kinds. Fifthly, the exploitation of oppressed nations that is inseparably connected with annexations, and especially the exploitation of colonies by a handful of "Great" Powers, transforms the "civilized" world more and more into a parasite on the body of hundreds of millions of uncivilized people. The Roman proletarian lived at the expense of society. Modern society lives at the expense of the modern proletarian. Marx specially

stressed this profound observation of Sismondi. Imperialism somewhat changes the situation. A privileged upper stratum of the proletariat in the imperialist countries lives partly at the expense of hundreds of millions of members of uncivilized nations.

It is clear why imperialism is *moribund* capitalism, capitalism in *transition* to Socialism: monopoly, which grows out of capitalism, is *already* capitalism dying out, the beginning of its transition to Socialism. The tremendous *socialization* of labour by imperialism (what the apologists—the bourgeois economists—call “interlocking”) means the same thing.

Advancing this definition of imperialism brings us into complete contradiction to K. Kautsky, who refuses to regard imperialism as a “phase of capitalism,” and who defines imperialism as the *policy* “preferred” by finance capital, as a tendency on the part of “industrial” countries to annex “agrarian” countries.¹ Kautsky’s definition is thoroughly false from the theoretical standpoint. What distinguishes imperialism is the rule *not* of industrial capital but of finance capital, the striving to annex *not* agrarian countries particularly, but *every kind* of country. Kautsky *divorces* imperialist politics from imperialist economics, he divorces monopoly in politics from monopoly in economics in order to pave the way for his vulgar bourgeois reformism, such as “disarmament,” “ultra-imperialism” and similar nonsense. The aim and object of this theoretical falsity is to gloss over the *most profound* contradictions of imperialism and thus to justify the theory of “unity” with the apologists of imperialism, the frank social-chauvinists and opportunists.

We have dealt at sufficient length with Kautsky’s rupture with Marxism on this point in the *Sotsial-Demokrat* and the *Kommunist*. Our Russian Kautskyans, the supporters of the Organization Committee,² headed by Axelrod and Spectator, including even Martov, and to a large degree Trotsky, pre-

¹ “Imperialism is the product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the tendency of every industrial capitalist nation to subjugate and annex ever larger *agrarian* territories, irrespective of the nations that populate them” (Kautsky in *Neue Zeit*, September 11, 1914).

² The reference here is to the directing body of the so-called August

ferred tacitly to ignore the question of Kautskyism as a trend. They did not dare defend what Kautsky had written during the war and confined themselves either to simply praising Kautsky (Axelrod in his German pamphlet, which the Organization Committee has *promised* to publish in Russian) or to quoting private letters of Kautsky (Spectator), in which he asserts that he belongs to the opposition and jesuitically tries to nullify his chauvinist declarations.

It should be noted that Kautsky's "conception" of imperialism—which is tantamount to embellishing imperialism—is a retrogression not only compared with Hilferding's *Finance Capital* (no matter how assiduously Hilferding now defends Kautsky and "unity" with the social-chauvinists!) but also compared with the *social-liberal*, J. A. Hobson. This English economist, who in no way claims to be a Marxist, much more profoundly defines imperialism and reveals its contradictions in his work of 1902.¹ This is what this writer (in whose book nearly all Kautsky's pacifist and "conciliatory" banalities may be found) wrote on the highly important question of the parasitic nature of imperialism:

In Hobson's opinion, two sets of circumstances weakened the power of the old empires: 1) "economic parasitism," and 2) formation of armies from dependent peoples. "The first mentioned circumstance is: the habit of economic parasitism, by which the ruling state has used its provinces, colonies, and dependencies in order to enrich its ruling class and to bribe its lower classes into acquiescence."

Concerning the second circumstance, Hobson writes:

"One of the strangest symptoms of the blindness of imperialism [this song about the "blindness" of imperialists comes more appropriately from the social-liberal Hobson than from the "Marxist" Kautsky] is the reckless indifference with which Great Britain, France and other imperialist nations are embarking on this perilous dependence. Great Britain has gone farthest. Most of the fighting by which we have won our Indian Empire has been done by natives; in India, as more recently in Egypt,

Bloc of anti-Bolshevik groups and trends organized by L. Trotsky in August 1912 which fought against Lenin.—Ed.

¹ J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, London, 1902.

great standing armies are placed under British commanders; almost all the fighting associated with our African dominions, except in the southern part, has been done for us by natives."

The prospect of the partition of China elicited from Hobson the following economic appraisal: "The greater part of Western Europe might then assume the appearance and character already exhibited by tracts of country in the South of England, in the Riviera, and in the tourist-ridden or residential parts of Italy and Switzerland, little clusters of wealthy aristocrats drawing dividends and pensions from the Far East, with a somewhat larger group of professional retainers and tradesmen and a large body of personal servants and workers in the transport trade and in the final stages of production of more perishable goods: all the main arterial industries would have disappeared, the staple foods and manufactures flowing in as a tribute from Asia and Africa. . . . We have foreshadowed the possibility of even a larger alliance of Western States, a European federation of Great Powers which, so far from forwarding the cause of world civilization, might introduce the gigantic peril of a Western parasitism, a group of advanced industrial nations, whose upper classes drew vast tribute from Asia and Africa, with which they supported great tame masses of retainers, no longer engaged in the staple industries of agriculture and manufacture, but kept in the performance of personal or minor industrial services under the control of a new financial aristocracy. Let those who would scout such a theory [he should have said: prospect] as undeserving of consideration, examine the economic and social conditions of districts in Southern England today which are already reduced to this condition, and reflect upon the vast extension of such a system which might be rendered feasible by the subjection of China to the economic control of similar groups of financiers, investors, and political and business officials, draining the greatest potential reservoir of profit the world has ever known, in order to consume it in Europe. The situation is far too complex, the play of world forces far too incalculable, to render this or any other single interpretation of the future very probable: but the influences which govern the imperialism of Western Europe today are

moving in this direction, and, unless counteracted or diverted, make towards some such consummation."

Hobson, the social-liberal, fails to see that this "counter-action" can be offered *only* by the revolutionary proletariat and *only* in the form of a social revolution. But then he is a social-liberal! Nevertheless, as early as 1902 he had an excellent insight into the meaning and significance of a "United States of Europe" (he it said for the benefit of Trotsky the Kautskyan!) and of all that is now being glossed over by the *hypocritical Kautskyans* of various countries namely, that the *opportunists* (Social-chauvinists) are working hand in hand with the imperialist bourgeoisie *precisely* towards creating an imperialist Europe on the backs of Asia and Africa, and that objectively the *opportunists* are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata of the working class who have been *bribed* out of imperialist super-profits and converted into *watchdogs* of capitalism and *corrupters* of the labour movement.

We have repeatedly pointed, both in articles and in the resolutions of our Party, to this most profound connection, the economic connection, between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the opportunism which is now victorious (will it be for long?) in the labour movement. It is from this, incidentally, that we drew the conclusion that a split with the social-chauvinists was inevitable. Our Kautskyans preferred to evade the question! Martov, for instance, uttered in his lectures a sophistry which in the *Bulletin* of the Foreign Secretariat of the Organization Committee (No. 4, April 10, 1916) is expressed in the following way:

"... The cause of revolutionary Social-Democracy would be in a sad, even a hopeless plight if those groups of workers who in mental development approach most closely to the 'intelligentsia' and the more highly skilled groups of workers totally drifted away from it towards opportunism..."

By means of the silly "fatally" and a certain sleight-of-hand, the *fact* that *certain* groups of workers *have already drifted away* to opportunism and to the imperialist bourgeoisie is *evaded*! And all that the sophists of the O.C. want is to *evade* this fact! They confine themselves to that "official optimism" which the Kautskyan Hilferding and many others flaunt at the

present time: objective conditions guarantee the unity of the proletariat and the victory of the revolutionary tendency! We are "optimists" with regard to the proletariat!

But as a matter of fact all these Kautskyans—Hilferding, the O.C.-ists, Martov and Co.—are *optimists* ... with regard to *opportunism*. That is the whole point!

The proletariat is the child of capitalism—of world capitalism, and not only of European capitalism, not only of imperialist capitalism. On a world scale, fifty years sooner or fifty years later—from the standpoint of the *world* scale the question is a minor one—the "proletariat" of course "will be" united, and revolutionary Social-Democracy will "inevitably" be victorious within it. But this is not the point, Messrs. the Kautskyans. The point is that at the present time, in the imperialist countries of Europe, *you are fawning on* the opportunists, who are *alien* to the proletariat as a class, who are the servants, the agents and the vehicles of the influence of the bourgeoisie, and unless the labour movement *rids* itself of them, it will remain a *bourgeois labour movement*. Your advocacy of "unity" with the opportunists, with the Legiens and Davids, the Plekhanovs, the Chkhenkelis and Potresovs, etc., is, objectively, a defence of the *enslavement* of the workers by the imperialist bourgeoisie with the aid of its best agents in the labour movement. The victory of revolutionary Social-Democracy on a world scale is absolutely inevitable, only it is moving and will move, is proceeding and will proceed, *against* you, it will be a victory *over* you.

These two tendencies, one might even say *two* parties, in the present-day labour movement, which in 1914-16 so obviously parted ways all over the world, *were traced by Engels and Marx in England* throughout the course of many *decades*, roughly from 1858 to 1892.

Neither Marx nor Engels lived to see the imperialist epoch of world capitalism, which began not earlier than 1898-1900. But it has been a peculiar feature of England that even in the middle of the nineteenth century she already revealed at least *two* highly outstanding characteristics of imperialism: 1) vast colonies, and 2) monopoly profit (due to her monopolistic position in the world market). In both respects England at that

time was an exception among capitalist countries, and Marx and Engels, analysing this exception, quite clearly and definitely indicated its *connection* with the (temporary) victory of opportunism in the English labour movement.

In a letter to Marx dated October 7, 1858, Engels wrote: "... The English proletariat is becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat *as well as* a bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable."¹ In a letter to Sorge dated September 21, 1872, Engels informs him that Hales kicked up a big row in the Federal Council of the International and secured a vote of censure on Marx for saying that "the English labour leaders had sold themselves." Marx wrote to Sorge on August 4, 1874: "As to the urban workers here (in England), it is a pity that the whole pack of leaders did not get into parliament. This would be the surest way of getting rid of the whole lot." In a letter to Marx dated August 11, 1881, Engels speaks about "those very worst English ones [trade unions] which allow themselves to be led by men sold to, or at least paid by the bourgeoisie." In a letter to Kautsky, dated September 12, 1882, Engels wrote: "You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general. There is no workers' party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."²

On December 7, 1889, Engels wrote to Sorge: "The most repulsive thing here [in England] is the bourgeois 'respectability' which has grown deep into the bones of the workers. . . . Even Tom Mann, whom I regard as the finest of them all, is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. If one compares this with the French, one can see what a rev-

¹ *Marx-Engels Selected Correspondence*, pp. 115-16.—*Ed.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 399. Lenin quotes this letter from Kautsky's *Socialism and Colonial Policy*, where Kautsky makes a deliberate omission. In the original letter Engels wrote: "the same as they think about politics in general: *the same as what the bourgeois think.*" The words here italicized were omitted by Kautsky.—*Ed.*

olution is good for alter all."¹ In a letter dated April 19, 1890: "But *under* the surface the movement [of the working class in England] is going on, it is seizing ever wider sections of the workers and mostly just among the hitherto stagnant *lowest* [Engels' italics] masses, and the day is no longer far off when this mass will suddenly *find itself*, when the fact that it is this colossal self-impelled mass will dawn upon it..."² On March 4, 1891: "The failure of the collapsed Dockers' Union; the old conservative trade unions, *rich* and therefore cowardly, remain alone on the field..." September 14, 1891: at the Newcastle Trade Union Congress the old unionists, opponents of the eight-hour day, were defeated and "the bourgeois papers recognize the defeat of the *bourgeois labour party*"³ [Engels' italics throughout]...

That these ideas, which were repeated by Engels over the course of decades, were also expressed by him publicly, in the press, is proven by his preface to the second edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, 1892. Here he speaks of an "aristocracy in the working class," of a "privileged minority of the workers," in contradistinction to the "broad masses of the workers." "A small, privileged, protected minority" of the working class alone was "permanently benefited" by the privileged position of England in 1848-68, whereas "the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement." "With the breakdown of that [England's industrial] monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position..." The members of the "New Unionism," the unions of the unskilled workers, "had this immense advantage, that their minds were virgin soil, entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old' Unionists..." "The so-called labour representatives [in England] are those who are forgiven for belonging to the working class because they are themselves ready to drown this quality in the ocean of their liberalism..."

We have deliberately quoted the direct statements of Marx

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 461. *Ed.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 468. *Ed.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 488 - *Ed.*

and Engels at rather great length in order that the reader may study them *as a whole*. And they must be studied, they are worth pondering over. For they are the *pivot* of the tactics in the labour movement that are dictated by the objective conditions of the imperialist epoch.

Here, too, Kautsky has already attempted to "fog the issue" and to substitute for Marxism a sentimental spirit of conciliation with the opportunists. Arguing against the avowed and naive social-imperialists (like Lensch) who justify Germany's participation in the war as a means of destroying England's monopoly, Kautsky "*corrects*" this obvious falsehood by another equally obvious falsehood. Instead of a cynical falsehood he employs a suave falsehood! The *industrial* monopoly of England, he says, has long ago been broken, has long ago been destroyed, and there is nothing left to destroy.

Why is this argument false?

Because, firstly, it overlooks England's *colonial* monopoly. Yet Engels, as we have seen, pointed to this very clearly as early as 1882, thirty-four years ago! Although England's industrial monopoly may have been destroyed, her colonial monopoly not only remains, but has become extremely accentuated, for the whole world is already divided up! By means of this suave lie Kautsky smuggles in the bourgeois-pacifist and opportunist-philistine idea that "there is nothing to fight about." On the contrary, not only have the *capitalists* something to fight about now, but they *cannot help* fighting if they want to preserve capitalism, for without a forcible redivision of colonies the *new* imperialist countries cannot obtain the privileges enjoyed by the older (*and less powerful*) imperialist powers.

Secondly, why does England's monopoly explain the (temporary) victory of opportunism in England? Because monopoly yields *super-profits*, i.e., a surplus of profits over and above the capitalist profits that are normal and customary all over the world. The capitalists *can* devote a part (and not a small one, at that!) of these super-profits to bribe their *own* workers, to create something like an alliance (remember the famous "alliances" of the English trade unions with their employers described by the Webbs) between the workers of a given nation

and their capitalists *against* the other countries. England's industrial monopoly was already destroyed by the end of the nineteenth century. This is beyond dispute. But *how* did this destruction take place? Was it in such a way that *all* monopoly disappeared?

If this were so, Kautsky's "theory" of conciliation (with the opportunists) would to a certain extent be justified. But as a matter of fact it is *not* so. Imperialism *is* monopoly capitalism. Every cartel, trust, syndicate, every giant bank *is* a monopoly. Super-profits have not disappeared; they still remain. The exploitation of *all* other countries by one privileged, financially wealthy country remains and has become more intense. A handful of wealthy countries—there are only four of them, if we mean independent, really gigantic, "modern" wealth: England, France, the United States and Germany—have developed monopoly to vast proportions, they obtain *super*-profits amounting to hundreds of millions, if not billions, they "ride on the backs" of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in other countries and fight among themselves for the division of the particularly rich, particularly fat and particularly easy spoils.

This in fact is the economic and political essence of imperialism, the profound contradictions of which Kautsky covers up instead of exposing.

The bourgeoisie of an imperialist "Great" Power *can* economically bribe the upper strata of "its" workers by devoting a hundred million francs a year or so to this purpose, for its *super*-profits most likely amount to about a billion. And how this little sop is distributed among the labour ministers, "labour representatives" (remember Engels' splendid analysis of this term), labour members of War Industry Committees, labour officials, workers belonging to the narrow craft unions, office employees, etc., etc., is a secondary question.

Between 1848 and 1868, and to a certain extent even later, England alone enjoyed a monopoly: *that is why* opportunism could prevail in England for decades. There were *no* other countries possessing either very rich colonies or an industrial monopoly.

The last third of the nineteenth century was marked by the transition to the new imperialist epoch. Monopoly is enjoyed

by the finance capital *not* of one, but of several, though very few, Great Powers. (In Japan and Russia the monopoly of military power, vast territories, or special facilities for robbing minority nationalities, China, etc., partly supplements, partly takes the place of the monopoly of modern up-to-date finance capital.) This difference explains why England's monopolistic position *could* remain *unchallenged* for decades. The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the epoch of imperialist wars has begun. Formerly the working class of *one* country could be bribed and corrupted for decades. Now this is improbable, if not impossible. But on the other hand, *every* imperialist "Great" Power can and does bribe, *smaller* (compared with 1848-68 in England) strata of the "labour aristocracy." Formerly a "*bourgeois labour party*," to use Engels' remarkably profound expression, could be formed only in one country, because it alone enjoyed a monopoly, but could be formed for a long time. Now a "*bourgeois labour party*" is *inevitable* and typical in *all* imperialist countries; but in view of the desperate struggle they are waging for the division of spoils, it is improbable that such a party can prevail for long in a number of countries. For the trusts, the financial oligarchy, high prices, etc., *while permitting* the bribery of a handful of people in the upper layers, are increasingly oppressing, crushing, ruining and torturing the *mass* of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat.

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into "eternal" parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to "rest on the laurels" of the exploitation of Negroes, Hindus, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent technique of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the *masses*, who are more oppressed than ever and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labour movement will inevitably develop from now on. For the first tendency is not accidental, but "based" on economics. The bourgeoisie has already begotten, fostered and secured for itself "bourgeois la-

bour parties" of social-chauvinists in *all* countries. The difference between a definitely formed party, like that of Bissolati in Italy, for example, a party that is fully social-imperialist, and let us say, the semi-formed party of the Potresovs, Gvozdevs, Bulkins, Chkheidzes, Skobelevs, and Co which is nearly a party, is an immaterial difference. The important thing is that the economic desertion of a stratum of the labour aristocracy to the bourgeoisie has matured and become an accomplished fact; and this economic fact, this shifting of the relations between classes, will find political form, in one shape or another, without any particular "labour."

On the economic basis referred to, the political institutions of modern capitalism—press, parliament, trade unions, congresses, etc.—have created *political* privileges and sops for the respectful, meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers corresponding to the economic privileges and sops. Lucrative and soft jobs in the Cabinet or on the War Industry Committee, in Parliament and on diverse committees, on the editorial staffs of "respectable," legally published newspapers or on the management councils of no less respectable and "bourgeois law-abiding" trade unions—these are the baits by which the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representatives and adherents of the "bourgeois labour parties."

The mechanics of political democracy work in the same direction. Nothing in our times can be done without elections; nothing can be done without the masses. And in this era of printing and parliamentarism it is *impossible* to gain the following of the masses without a widely-ramified, systematically-managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with popular catchwords and promising reforms and blessings to the workers right and left—as long as they renounce the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. I would call this system Lloyd-Georgeism, after the name of one of the foremost and most dexterous representatives of this system in the classic land of the "bourgeois labour party," the English Minister, Lloyd George. A first-class bourgeois man-of-affairs, an astute politician, a popular orator who will deliver any speeches you like, even r-r-revolutionary ones, to a la-

bour audience, and a man who is capable of obtaining fairly large-sized sops for the obedient workers in the shape of social reforms (insurance, etc.), Lloyd George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly,¹ and serves it precisely *among* the workers, brings its influence *precisely* to the proletariat, to the place where it is most needed and where it is most difficult to capture the masses morally.

And is there such a great difference between Lloyd George and the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Hendersons and Hyndmans, Plekhanovs, Renaudels and Co? Of the latter, it may be objected, some will return to the revolutionary Socialism of Marx. This is possible, but it is an insignificant difference in degree, if the question is regarded from its political, *i.e.*, its mass aspect. Certain individuals among the present-day social-chauvinist leaders may return to the proletariat. But the social-chauvinist or (what is the same thing) opportunist *tendency* can neither disappear nor "return" to the revolutionary proletariat. Wherever Marxism is popular among the workers, this political tendency, this "bourgeois labour party," will swear by the name of Marx. It cannot be prohibited from doing this, just as a trading firm cannot be prohibited from using any particular label, sign, or advertisement. It has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes.

The fact is that "bourgeois labour parties," as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in *all* the foremost capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and ruthless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties—or groups, tendencies, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a Socialist labour movement. The Chkhaidze fraction,² *Nashe*

¹ I recently read in an English magazine an article by a Tory, a political opponent of Lloyd George, entitled "Lloyd George from the standpoint of a Tory." The war opened the eyes of this opponent and made him realize what an excellent servant of the bourgeoisie this Lloyd George is! The Tories have made peace with him!

² The reference is to the group of Menshevik deputies in the Fourth State Duma headed by Chkhaidze.—*Ed.*

Dyelo and *Golos Truda*, in Russia, and the O.C.-ists abroad are nothing but varieties of one *such* party. There is not the slightest reason for thinking that these parties will disappear *before* the social revolution. On the contrary, the nearer the revolution approaches, the more strongly it flares up and the more sudden and violent the transitions and leaps in its progress, the greater will be the part played in the labour movement by the struggle of the revolutionary mass stream against the opportunist petty-bourgeois stream. Kautskyism is not an independent current, because it has no hold either on the masses or on the privileged stratum which has deserted to the bourgeoisie. But the danger of Kautskyism lies in the fact that, utilizing the ideology of the past, it endeavours to reconcile the proletariat to the "bourgeois labour party," to preserve the unity of the proletariat with that party and thereby enhance the prestige of the latter. The masses no longer follow the lead of the avowed social-chauvinists: Lloyd George has been hissed down at workers' meetings in England; Hyndman has resigned from the Party; the Renaudels and Scheidemanns, the Potresovs and Gvozdevs are protected by the police. The masked defence of the social-chauvinists by the Kautskyans is much more dangerous.

One of the most common sophistries of Kautsky is its reference to the "masses." We do not want, they say, to break away from the masses and mass organizations! But just think how Engels put the question. In the nineteenth century the "mass organizations" of the English trade unions were on the side of the bourgeois labour party. Marx and Engels did not reconcile themselves to it on this ground, but exposed it. They did not forget, firstly, that the trade union organizations directly embraced a *minority of the proletariat*. In England then, as in Germany now, not more than one-fifth of the proletariat was organized. It cannot be seriously thought that it is possible to organize the majority of the proletariat under capitalism. Secondly—and this is the main point—it is not so much a question of the size of an organization, as of the real, the objective meaning of its policy: does this policy represent the masses, does it serve the masses, *i. e.*, does it aim at the liberation of the masses from capitalism, or does it represent

the interests of the minority, of the minority's reconciliation with capitalism? The latter was true of England in the nineteenth century, and it is true of Germany, etc., now.

Engels draws a distinction between the "bourgeois labour party" of the *old* trade unions, the privileged minority, and the "*lowest mass*," the real majority, and he appeals to the latter who are *not* infected by "bourgeois respectability." This is the essence of Marxist tactics!

We cannot—nor can anybody else—calculate what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the Socialist revolution. But we know for certain that the "defenders of the fatherland" in the imperialist war *represent* only a minority. And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain Socialists, to go down *lower* and *deeper*, to the real masses. This is the whole meaning and the whole content of the struggle against opportunism. By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are in reality betraying and selling the interests of the masses, that they are defending the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers, that they are the vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influences, that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we teach the masses to realize their true political interests, to fight for Socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices.

The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a merciless struggle against opportunism, to utilize the experiences of the war for the purpose of exposing all the vileness of national-liberal labour politics, and not of concealing it.

In the next article, we shall attempt to sum up the principal features that distinguish this line from Kautskyism.

Autumn, 1916

THE WAR PROGRAM OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

(Excerpt)

In Holland, Scandinavia and Switzerland, voices are heard among the revolutionary Social-Democrats—who are combating the social-chauvinist lies about “defence of the fatherland” in the present imperialist war—in favour of substituting for the old point in the Social-Democratic minimum program: “militia, or the armed nation,” a new one: “disarmament.” The *Jugendinternationale* (*The Youth International*) has inaugurated a discussion on this question and has published in No. 3 an editorial article in favour of disarmament. In R. Grimm’s latest theses, we regret to note, there is also a concession to the “disarmament” idea. Discussions have been started in the periodicals *Neues Leben* and *Vorbote*.

Let us examine the position of the advocates of disarmament.

I

The main argument is that the demand for disarmament is the clearest, most decisive, most consistent expression of the struggle against all militarism and against all war.

But this main argument is precisely the principal error of the advocates of disarmament. Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be Socialists, be opposed to all war.

In the first place, Socialists have never been, nor can they be, opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the imperialist “Great” Powers has become thoroughly reactionary, and we regard the war which *this* bourgeoisie is now waging

as a reactionary, slaveowners' and criminal war. But what about a war *against* this bourgeoisie? For example, a war for liberation waged by people who are oppressed by and dependent upon this bourgeoisie, or by colonial peoples, for their independence? In the theses of the *Internationale* group,¹ in § 5. we read: "In the era of this unbridled imperialism there can be no more national wars of any kind." This is obviously wrong.

The history of the Twentieth Century, this century of "unbridled imperialism," is replete with colonial wars. But what we Europeans, the imperialist oppressors of the majority of the peoples of the world, with our habitual, despicable European chauvinism, call "colonial wars" are often national wars, or national rebellions of those oppressed peoples. One of the main features of imperialism is that it accelerates the development of capitalism in the most backward countries, and thereby extends and intensifies the struggle against national oppression. This is a fact. It inevitably follows from this that imperialism must often give rise to national wars. *Junius*,² who in her pamphlet defends the above-quoted "theses," says that in the imperialist epoch every national war against one of the imperialist Great Powers leads to the intervention of another competing imperialist Great Power and thus, every national war is converted into an imperialist war. But this argument is also wrong. This *may* happen, but it does not always happen. Many colonial wars in the period between 1900 and 1914 did not follow this road. And it would be simply ridiculous if we declared, for instance, that after the present war, if it ends in the extreme exhaustion of all the belligerents, "there can be no" national, progressive, revolutionary wars "whatever," waged, say, by China in alliance with India, Persia, Siam, etc., against the Great Powers.

¹ *The Internationale group* (or Spartacus League)—a group of Left-wing revolutionary German Social-Democrats formed at the beginning of the First World War (1914-18). The leadership of the group included Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Klara Zetkin and others. The *Internationale* group merged with the German Communist Party on its foundation, constituting its main core.—*Ed.*

² *Junius*—nom de plume of Rosa Luxemburg (see footnote to p. 278) — *Ed.*

To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and in practice is tantamount to European chauvinism: we who belong to nations that oppress hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., must tell the oppressed peoples that it is "impossible" for them to wage war against "our" nations!

Secondly, civil wars are also wars. Anyone who recognizes the class struggle cannot fail to recognize civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions, inevitable continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. All the great revolutions prove this. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, would mean sinking into extreme opportunism and renouncing the Socialist revolution.

Thirdly, the victory of Socialism in one country does not at one stroke eliminate all war in general. On the contrary, it presupposes such wars. The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously *in all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. This must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the Socialist country. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for Socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie. Engels was perfectly right when, in his letter to Kautsky September 12, 1882, he openly admitted that it was possible for *already victorious* Socialism to wage "defensive wars." What he had in mind was defence of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries.

Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished, and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and not only of one country, will wars become impossible. And from a scientific point of view it would be utterly wrong and utterly unrevolutionary for us to evade or gloss over the most important thing, namely, that the most difficult task, the one demanding the greatest amount of fighting in the transition to Socialism,

is to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie. "Social" parsons and opportunists are always ready to dream about the future peaceful Socialism; but the very thing that distinguishes them from revolutionary Social-Democrats is that they refuse to think about and reflect on the fierce class struggle and class wars that are necessary for the achievement of this beautiful future.

We must not allow ourselves to be led astray by words. The term "defence of the fatherland," for instance, is hateful to many, because the avowed opportunists and the Kautskyites use it to cover up and gloss over the lies of the bourgeoisie in the *present* predatory war. This is a fact. It does not follow from this, however, that we must forget to ponder over the meaning of political slogans. Recognizing "defence of the fatherland" in the present war is nothing more nor less than recognizing it as a "just" war, a war in the interests of the proletariat; nothing more nor less, because invasions may occur in any war. It would be simply foolish to repudiate "defence of the fatherland" *on the part of* the oppressed nations in their wars *against* the imperialist Great Powers, or on the part of a victorious proletariat in *its* war against some Gallifet¹ of a bourgeois state.

Theoretically, it would be quite wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of politics by other means: the present imperialist war is the continuation of the imperialist politics of two groups of Great Powers, and these politics were engendered and fostered by the sum total of the relationships of the imperialist epoch. But this very epoch must also necessarily engender and foster the politics of struggle against national oppression and the politics of the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, and therefore, also the possibility and the inevitability, first, of revolutionary national rebellions and wars; second, of proletarian wars and rebellions *against* the bourgeoisie; and, third, of a combination of both kinds of revolutionary war, etc.

Autumn, 1916

1 G.A.A. de Gallifet (1850-1909) — French general, notorious for his ruthless treatment of the French Communards in 1871. Minister of War in 1899-1900 in the Waldeck-Rousseau government — *Ed.*

THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION

DRAFT OF A PLATFORM FOR THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

(Excerpt)

A SCIENTIFICALLY SOUND NAME FOR OUR PARTY THAT WILL POLITICALLY HELP TO CLARIFY PROLETARIAN CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

19. I now come to the last point, the name of our Party. We must call ourselves a *Communist Party*—just as Marx and Engels called themselves.

We must repeat that we are Marxists and that we take as our basis the *Communist Manifesto*, which has been perverted and betrayed by the Social-Democrats on two main points: 1) the workers have no country; “defence of the fatherland” in an imperialist war is a betrayal of Socialism; and 2) the Marxist doctrine of the state which has been perverted by the Second International.

The term “Social-Democracy” is *scientifically* incorrect, as Marx frequently pointed out, in particular, in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* in 1875, and as Engels reaffirmed in a more popular form in 1894. From capitalism mankind can pass directly only to Socialism, *i.e.*, to the social ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual. Our Party looks farther ahead: Socialism is bound to pass gradually into Communism, upon the banner of which is inscribed the motto, “From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”

That is my first argument.

Here is the second: the second part of the name of our Party (*Social-Democrats*) is also scientifically incorrect. Democracy is one of the forms of the *state*, whereas we Marxists are opposed to *all and every kind* of state.

The leaders of the Second International (1889-1914), Messrs. Plekhanov, Kautsky and their like, have vulgarized and perverted Marxism.

The difference between Marxism and anarchism is that Marxism recognizes *the necessity of the state* for the purpose of the transition to Socialism; but (and here is where we differ from Kautsky and Co.) *not a state* of the type of the usual parliamentary, bourgeois, democratic republic, but a state like the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Soviets of Workers' Deputies of 1905 and 1917.

My third argument: *the course of events*, the revolution, has *already actually* established in our country, although in a weak and embryonic form, precisely this new type of "state," which is not a state in the proper sense of the word.

This is *already* a matter of the practical action of the masses, and not merely of theories of the leaders.

The state in the proper sense of the term is the power exercised over the masses by detachments of armed men separated from the people.

Our new state, *now in process of being born*, is also a state, for we too need detachments of armed men; we too need the *strictest* order, and must *ruthlessly* and forcibly crush all attempts at either a tsarist or a Guchkov¹-bourgeois counter-revolution.

But our new state, *now in process of being born*, is *no longer* a state in the proper sense of the term, for in many parts of Russia these detachments of armed men are *the masses themselves*, the entire people, and not merely privileged individuals, placed above and separated from the people and in practice not subject to recall.

¹ A. I. Guchkov (1862-1936)—prominent representative of the reactionary circles of the big Russian bourgeoisie and founder of the Union of October Seventeenth (see footnote to p. 207). After the February Revolution in 1917 held office as Army and Naval Minister in the first Provisional Government.—Ed

We must look forward, and not backward to the usual bourgeois type of democracy, which consolidated the rule of the bourgeoisie with the aid of the old, *monarchist* organs of government—the police, the army and the bureaucracy.

We must look forward to the new democracy which is in process of being born, and which is already ceasing to be a democracy. For democracy means the rule of the people, whereas the armed people cannot rule over themselves.

The term democracy is not only scientifically incorrect when applied to a Communist Party; it has now, since March 1917, simply become a *blinker* covering the eyes of the revolutionary people and *preventing* them from boldly and freely, on their own initiative, building up the new: the Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and all other Deputies, as *the sole power* in the "state" and as the harbinger of the "withering away" of the state *in every form*.

My fourth argument: we must reckon with the actual situation in which Socialism finds itself internationally.

It is not what it was during the years 1871 to 1914, when Marx and Engels consciously reconciled themselves to the inaccurate, opportunist term "Social-Democracy." For *in those days*, after the defeat of the Paris Commune, history demanded slow organizational and educational work. Nothing else was possible. The Anarchists were then (as they are now) fundamentally wrong not only theoretically, but also economically and politically. The Anarchists wrongly estimated the character of the times, for they did not understand the world situation: the worker of England corrupted by imperialist profits, the Commune defeated in Paris, the recent (1871) triumph of the bourgeois national movement in Germany, the age-long sleep of semi-feudal Russia.

Marx and Engels gauged the times accurately; they understood the international situation; they realized that the approach to the beginning of the social revolution must be *slow*.

We, in our turn, must also understand the peculiarities and the tasks of the new era. Let us not imitate those sorry Marxists of whom Marx said: "I have sown dragons and have reaped a harvest of fleas."

The objective needs of capitalism grown into imperialism

brought about the imperialist war. The war has brought mankind to the *brink of a precipice*, to the destruction of civilization, to the brutalization and destruction of countless millions of human beings.

There is *no* escape except by a proletarian revolution.

And at the very moment when such a revolution is beginning, when it is taking its first timorous, uncertain and groping steps, steps betraying too great a confidence in the bourgeoisie, at that moment the majority (that is the truth, that is a fact) of the "Social-Democratic" leaders, of the "Social-Democratic" parliamentarians, of the "Social-Democratic" papers—and these are the *organs* for influencing the masses—have *deserted* Socialism, have *betrayed* Socialism and have gone over to the side of "their" national bourgeoisie.

The masses have been confused, led astray and deceived by these leaders

And are we to aid and abet that deception by retaining the old and antiquated Party name, which is as decayed as the Second International?

Let it be granted that "many" workers *understand* Social-Democracy in an honest way; but it is time we knew how to distinguish the subjective from the objective.

Subjectively, such Social-Democratic workers are most loyal leaders of the proletarian masses.

Objectively, however, the world situation is such that the old name of our Party *makes it easier* to fool the masses and *impedes* the onward march; for at every step, in every paper, in every parliamentary group, the masses see *leaders*, *i.e.*, the people whose voices carry farthest and whose actions are most prominent; yet they are all "also-Social-Democrats," they are all "for unity" with the betrayers of Socialism, with the social-chauvinists; and they are all presenting for payment the old bills issued by "Social-Democracy"...

And what are the opposing arguments? ... We shall be confused with the Anarchist-Communists, we are told. ...

Why are we not afraid of being confused with the Social-Nationalists, the Social-Liberals, or the Radical-Socialists, the foremost and most adroit bourgeois party in the French Republic in deceiving the masses? ... We are told: The masses

have grown used to the name, the workers have learnt to "love" *their* Social-Democratic Party.

That is the only argument. But it is an argument that disregards the science of Marxism, the tasks of the immediate morrow in the revolution, the objective position of world Socialism, the shameful collapse of the Second International, and the injury done to the practical cause by the pack of "also-Social-Democrats" who surround the proletarians.

It is an argument of routine, an argument of somnolence, an argument of inertia.

But we are out to rebuild the world. We are out to put an end to the imperialist World War in which hundreds of millions of people and the interests of billions and billions of capital are involved, and which cannot end in a truly democratic peace without a proletarian revolution, the greatest in the history of mankind.

Yet we are afraid of our own selves. We are loth to cast off the "dear old" soiled shirt. . . .

But it is time to cast off the soiled shirt and don a clean one.

Petrograd, April 10, 1917

LETTERS ON TACTICS.

FIRST LETTER

AN ESTIMATE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

(Excerpt)

Marxism demands that we should make a most precise and objectively verifiable analysis of the relation of classes and of the concrete peculiarities of each historical situation. We Bolsheviks have always tried faithfully to fulfil this demand, which is absolutely imperative for a scientific foundation of policy.

"Our teaching is not a dogma, but a guide to action," Marx and Engels used to say; and they rightly ridiculed the learning by rote and the mere repetition of "formulas" that at best are capable of giving only an outline of *general* tasks, which are necessarily liable to be modified by the *concrete* economic and political conditions of each particular *phase* of the historical process.

What, then, are the precisely established objective *facts* by which the party of the revolutionary proletariat must be guided at present in defining the tasks and forms of its activity?

Both in my first *Letter from Afar* ("The First Stage of the First Revolution"), published in the *Pravda*, Nos. 14 and 15, March 21 and 22, 1917, and in my theses, I define as the "specific feature of the present situation in Russia" the fact that it is a period of *transition* from the first stage of the revolution to the second. And I therefore considered the basic

slogan, the "order of the day," at *this* moment to be: "Workers, you have displayed marvels of proletarian heroism, the heroism of the people, in the civil war against tsardom. You must now display marvels of organization, organization of the proletariat and of the whole people, in order to prepare the way for your victory in the second stage of the revolution." (*Pravda*, No. 15.)

In what does the first stage consist?

In the transfer of the power of state to the bourgeoisie.

Before the February-March Revolution of 1917, state power in Russia was in the hands of one old class, namely, the feudal landed nobility, headed by Nicholas Romanov.

Now, after that revolution, the power is in ~~the~~ hands of *another* class, a new class, namely, the *bourgeoisie*.

The transfer of state power from one *class* to another *class* is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of the term.

To this extent, the bourgeois, or the bourgeois-democratic, revolution in Russia *has been completed*.

At this point we hear the clamour of the objectors, of those who so readily call themselves "old Bolsheviks": Did we not always maintain, they say, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is completed only by the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry"? Has the agrarian revolution, which is also a bourgeois-democratic revolution, been completed? Is it not a fact, on the contrary, that it has *not even begun*?

My answer is: The Bolshevik slogans and ideas *in general* have been fully corroborated by history; but *concretely*, things have shaped *differently* from what could have been anticipated [by anyone]: they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated.

If we ignored or forgot this fact, we should resemble those "old Bolsheviks" who have more than once played so *sorry* a part in the history of our Party by repeating meaninglessly a formula *learnt by rote*, instead of *studying* the specific features of the new and living reality.

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the prole-

tariat and peasantry" has *already* become a reality¹ in the Russian Revolution; for this "formula" envisages only a *relation of classes*, and not a *concrete political institution giving effect* to this relation, to this co-operation. The "Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies"—here you have the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" already accomplished in reality.

This formula is already antiquated. Events have removed it from the realm of formulas to the realm of reality, clothed it in flesh and blood, lent it concrete form, and have *thereby* modified it.

A new and different task now faces us: to effect a split between the ~~proletarian~~ ^{proletarian} elements [the anti-defencist, internationalist, "Communist" elements, who stand for a transition to the commune] *within* this dictatorship and the *small-proprietor or petty-bourgeois* elements [Chikhheidze, Tsereteli, Steklov, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and other revolutionary defencists, who are opposed to the movement towards the commune and who are in favour of "supporting" the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois government].

Whoever speaks *now* of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" only is behind the times, has consequently in effect *gone over* to the side of the petty-bourgeoisie and is against the proletarian class ~~struggle~~ ^{struggle}. He deserves to be consigned to the museum of "Bolshevik" pre-revolutionary antiques [which might be called the archive of "old Bolsheviks"].

The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry has already been realized, but in an extremely original form, and with a number of highly important modifications. I will deal with them separately in one of my forthcoming letters. For the present it is essential to realize the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of actual events, of the precise facts of *reality*, and must not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and general, and only *approximates* to an inclusive grasp of the complexities of life.

¹ In a certain form and to a certain extent.

"Theory, my friend, is grey, but green is the eternal tree of life."¹

He who continues to regard the "completion" of the bourgeois revolution *in the old way*, sacrifices living Marxism to the dead letter.

According to the old conception, the rule of the proletariat and the peasantry, their dictatorship, can and must come *after* the rule of the bourgeoisie.

But in actual fact, it has *already* turned out *differently*: an extremely original, novel and unprecedented *interlacing of the one with the other* has taken place. We have existing side by side, together, simultaneously, *both* the rule of the bourgeoisie [the government of Lvov and Guchkov] *and* a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry *voluntarily* ceding power to the bourgeoisie, voluntarily transforming itself into an appendage of the bourgeoisie.

For it must not be forgotten that in Petrograd the power is actually in the hands of the workers and soldiers: the new government is *not* using and cannot use violence against them. For there is *no* police, *no* army separate from the people, *no* officialdom standing omnipotently *above* the people. This is a fact; and it is precisely the kind of fact that is characteristic of a state of the type of the Paris Commune. This fact does not fit into the old schemes. One must know how to adapt schemes to facts, rather than repeat words about a "dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" *in general*, which have now become meaningless.

In order the better to illuminate the question, let us approach it from another angle.

A Marxist must not abandon the ground of careful analysis of class relations. The bourgeoisie is in power. But is not the mass of the peasants *also* a bourgeoisie, only of a different stratum, a different kind, a different character? Whence does it follow that *this* stratum *cannot* come to power and thus "complete" the bourgeois-democratic revolution? Why should this be impossible?

That is how the old Bolsheviks often argue.

¹The words quoted by Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*.—Ed.

My reply is that it is quite possible. But, when analysing any given situation, a Marxist must proceed *not* from the possible, but from the actual.

And actuality reveals the *fact* that the freely elected soldiers' and peasants' deputies freely enter the second, parallel government and freely supplement, develop and complete it. And, just as freely, they *surrender* power to the bourgeoisie—which phenomenon does not in the least “contravene” the theory of Marxism, for, as we have always known and have repeatedly pointed out, the bourgeoisie maintains itself *not* only by force but also by virtue of the lack of class consciousness, the clinging to old habits, the browbeaten state and lack of organization of the masses.

In view of this present-day actuality it is simply ridiculous to turn one's back on the facts and to talk about “possibilities.”

It is possible that the peasantry may seize all the land and the entire power. Far from forgetting this possibility, far from confining myself to the present moment only, I definitely and clearly formulate the agrarian program, taking into account the *new* phenomenon, *i. e.*, the deeper cleavage between the agricultural labourers and poor peasants on the one hand, and the well-to-do peasants, on the other.

But there is another possibility; it is possible that the peasants will hearken to the advice of the petty-bourgeois party of Socialist-Revolutionaries, which has succumbed to the influence of the bourgeoisie, has gone over to defensism, and which advises waiting until the Constituent Assembly, even though the date of its convocation has not yet been fixed¹

It is possible that the peasants will *preserve* and prolong their deal with the bourgeoisie, a deal which they have now concluded through the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies not only in form but in fact.

¹ Lest my words be misinterpreted, I shall anticipate and state at once that I am absolutely in favour of the *Soviets* of Agricultural Labourers and Peasants *immediately* taking over *all* the land; but they should *themselves* observe the strictest order and discipline, not permit the slightest damage to machinery, structures or livestock, and in no case disorganize agriculture and the production of cereals, but rather *develop* them, for the soldiers need *twice as much* bread, and the people must not be allowed to starve.

Many things are possible. It would be a profound mistake to forget the agrarian movement and the agrarian program. But it would be equally mistaken to forget *reality*, and reality reveals the *fact* that an *agreement*, or—to use a more exact, less legal, but more class-economic expression—*class collaboration* exists between the bourgeoisie and the peasantry.

When this fact ceases to be a fact, when the peasantry separates from the bourgeoisie, seizes the land and the power despite the bourgeoisie, that will be a new stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution; and of that we shall speak separately.

A Marxist who, in view of the possibility of such a stage in the future, were to forget his duties *at the present moment*, when the peasantry is *in agreement* with the bourgeoisie, would become a petty-bourgeois. For he would in practice be preaching to the proletariat *confidence* in the petty-bourgeoisie [“the petty-bourgeoisie, the peasantry, must separate from the bourgeoisie while the bourgeois-democratic revolution is still on”]. Because of the “possibility” of so pleasant and sweet a future, in which the peasantry would *not* form the tail of the bourgeoisie, in which the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Chkhaidzes, Tseretelis and Steklovs would *not* be an appendage of the bourgeois government—because of the “possibility” of so pleasant a future, he would be forgetting *the unpleasant present*, in which the peasantry still forms the tail of the bourgeoisie, and in which the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats have not yet ceased to be an appendage of the bourgeois government, His Majesty Lvov’s¹ Opposition.

This hypothetical person would resemble a meek Louis Blanc, or a saccharine Kautskyan, but not a revolutionary Marxist.

But are we not in danger of succumbing to subjectivism, of wanting to “skip” over the bourgeois-democratic revolution—which has not yet been completed and has not yet exhausted the peasant movement—to the Socialist revolution?

¹ Prince G. Lvov (1861-1925)—large landowner, member of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, Prime Minister in the bourgeois Provisional Government from March to July 1917.—Ed.

I should be incurring this danger had I said: "No tsar, but a workers' government." But I did *not* say that; I said something else. I said that there *can be no* government (apart from a bourgeois government) in Russia *other than* a government of the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. I said that power in Russia can now pass from Guchkov and Lvov *only* to these Soviets. And the *fact* is that in these Soviets it is the peasants that predominate, it is the soldiers that predominate—the petty-bourgeoisie, to use a scientific, Marxist term, to use not a commonplace, lay, occupational designation, but a class designation.

I absolutely insured myself in my theses against skipping over the still existing peasant movement, or the petty-bourgeois movement in general, against any *playing* at the "seizure of power" by a workers' government, against any kind of Blanquist adventurism; for I definitely referred to the experience of the Paris Commune. And this experience, as we know, and as was shown in detail by Marx in 1871 and by Engels in 1891, absolutely excludes Blanquism, absolutely ensures the direct, immediate and unquestionable rule of the *majority*, and the activity of the masses only to the extent that the action of the majority itself is conscious.

In the theses I very definitely reduced the question to one of a *struggle for influence within* the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. In order to leave no shadow of doubt on this score, I *twice* emphasized in the theses the necessity for patient and persistent "explanatory" work "adapted to the *practical* needs of the masses."

Ignorant persons, or renegades from Marxism, such as Mr. Plekhanov, may cry anarchism, Blanquism, and so forth. But those who really want to think and learn cannot fail to understand that Blanquism means the seizure of power by a minority, whereas the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies are *admittedly* the direct and immediate organization of the *majority* of the people. Work confined to a struggle for influence *within* these Soviets cannot, absolutely *cannot*, stray into the swamp of Blanquism. Nor can it stray into the swamp of anarchism, for

It is often said and written that the core of Marx's theory is the class struggle; but this is not true. And from this error very often springs the opportunist distortion of Marxism, its falsification to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the doctrine of the class struggle was created *not* by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie *before* Marx, and generally speaking it is *acceptable* to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognize *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois reasoning and bourgeois politics. To limit Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. This is where the profound difference lies between a Marxist and an ordinary petty (and even big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the *real* understanding and acceptance of Marxism should be tested. And it is not surprising that when the history of Europe brought the working class face to face with this question in a *practical* way, not only all the opportunists and reformists, but all the Kautsky-ites (people who vacillate between reformism and Marxism) proved to be miserable philistines and petty-bourgeois democrats who *repudiated* the dictatorship of the proletariat. Kautsky's pamphlet, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* published in August 1918, *i.e.*, long after the first edition of the present pamphlet, is an example of petty-bourgeois distortion of Marxism and base renunciation of it *in practice*, while hypocritically recognizing it *in words* (see my pamphlet, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Petrograd and Moscow, 1918).

Present-day opportunism in the person of its principal representative, the ex-Marxist, K. Kautsky, fits in completely with Marx's characterization of the *bourgeois* position quoted above, for this opportunism limits the field of recognition of the class struggle to the realm of bourgeois relationships. (Within this realm, within its framework, not a single educated liberal will refuse to recognize the class struggle "in principle"!)

Opportunism *does not carry* the recognition of class struggle to

the main point, to the period of *transition* from capitalism to Communism, to the period of the overthrow and complete abolition of the bourgeoisie. In reality, this period inevitably becomes a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms and, consequently, during this period the state must inevitably be a state that is democratic *in a new way* (for the proletarians and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (against the bourgeoisie).

To proceed. The essence of Marx's doctrine of the state is assimilated only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a *single class* is necessary not only for class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from "classless society," from Communism. The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same: in one way or another, in the final analysis, all these states are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to Communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but their essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

CHAPTER V. THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE

Marx explains this question most thoroughly in his *Critique of the Gotha Program* (letter to Bracke, May 5, 1875, which was not printed until 1891 in *Neue Zeit*, Vol. IX, 1, and which has appeared in a special Russian edition). The polemical part of this remarkable work, which consists of a criticism of Lassalleanism, has, so to speak, overshadowed its positive part, namely, the analysis of the connection between the development of Communism and the withering away of the state.

1. MARX'S PRESENTATION OF THE QUESTION

From a superficial comparison of Marx's letter to Bracke of May 5, 1875, with Engels' letter to Bebel of March 28, 1875, which we examined above, it might appear that Marx was much more "pro-state" than Engels, and that the difference of

opinion between the two writers on the question of the state was very considerable.

Engels suggested to Bebel that all the chatter about the state be dropped; that the word "state" be eliminated from the program altogether and the word "community" substituted for it. Engels even declared that the Commune was really no longer a state in the proper sense of the word. Yet Marx spoke of the "future state in Communist society," *i.e.*, as though he recognized the need for a state even under Communism.

But such a view would be fundamentally wrong. A closer examination shows that Marx's and Engels' views on the state and its withering away were completely identical, and that Marx's expression quoted above refers merely to this *withering away* of the state.

Clearly there can be no question of defining the exact moment of the *future* "withering away"—the more so since it must obviously be a rather lengthy process. The apparent difference between Marx and Engels is due to the different subjects they dealt with, the different aims they were pursuing. Engels set out to show Bebel plainly, sharply and in broad outline the absurdity of the prevailing prejudices concerning the state, which were shared to no small degree by Lassalle. Marx only touched upon *this* question in passing, being interested in another subject, *viz.*, the *development* of Communist society.

The whole theory of Marx is an application of the theory of development—in its most consistent, complete, thought-out and replete form—to modern capitalism. Naturally, Marx was faced with the question of applying this theory both to the *forthcoming* collapse of capitalism and to the *future* development of *future* Communism.

On the basis of what *data* can the question of the future development of future Communism be raised?

On the basis of the fact that *it has its origin* in capitalism, that it develops historically from capitalism, that it is the result of the action of social force to which capitalism *has given birth*. There is no trace of an attempt on Marx's part to conjure up a utopia, to make idle guesses about what cannot be known. Marx treats the question of Communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development, say,

of a new biological species, if he knew that such and such was its origin and such and such the direction in which it was changing.

Marx, first of all, brushes aside the confusion the Gotha Program brings into the question of the relation between state and society. He writes:

" 'Present-day society' is capitalist society, which exists in all civilized countries, more or less free from mediaeval admixture, more or less modified by the special historical development of each country and more or less developed. On the other hand, the 'present-day state' changes with a country's frontier. It is different in the Prusso-German Empire from what it is in Switzerland, it is different in England from what it is in the United States. The 'present-day state' is therefore a fiction.

"Nevertheless, the different states of the different civilized countries, in spite of their manifold diversity of form, all have this in common, that they are based on modern bourgeois society, only one more or less capitalistically developed. They have, therefore, also certain essential features in common. In this sense it is possible to speak of the 'present-day state,' in contrast to the future, in which its present root, bourgeois society, will have died away.

"The question then arises: what transformation will the state undergo in Communist society? In other words, what social functions will remain in existence there that are analogous to the present functions of the state? This question can only be answered scientifically and one does not get a flea-hop nearer to the problem by a thousandfold combination of the word people with the word state..."

Having thus ridiculed all talk about a "people's state," Marx formulates the question and warns us, as it were, that to arrive at a scientific answer one must rely only on firmly established scientific data.

The first fact that has been established with complete exactitude by the whole theory of development, by science as a whole—a fact which the utopians forgot, and which is forgotten by the present-day opportunists who are afraid of the Socialist revolution—is that, historically, there must undoubtedly be a special stage or a special phase of *transition* from capitalism to Communism.

2. THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM

Marx continues:

"Between capitalist and Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."

Marx bases this conclusion on an analysis of the role played by the proletariat in modern capitalist society, on the data concerning the development of this society, and on the irreconcilability of the antagonistic interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Earlier the question was put in this way: in order to achieve its emancipation, the proletariat must overthrow the bourgeoisie, conquer political power and establish its revolutionary dictatorship.

Now the question is put somewhat differently: the transition from capitalist society—which is developing towards Communism—to a Communist society is impossible without a "political transition period," and the state in this period can only be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

What, then, is the relation of this dictatorship to democracy?

We have seen that *The Communist Manifesto* simply places the two ideas side by side: "to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class" and "to win the battle of democracy." On the basis of all that has been said above, it is possible to determine more precisely how democracy changes in the transition from capitalism to Communism.

In capitalist society, under the conditions most favourable to its development, we have more or less complete democracy in the democratic republic. But this democracy is always restricted by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in reality, a democracy for the minority, only for the possessing classes, only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave-owners. Owing to the conditions of capitalist exploitation the modern wage slaves are so crushed by want and poverty that

"they cannot be bothered with democracy," "they cannot be bothered with politics"; in the ordinary peaceful course of events the majority of the population is debarred from participating in social and political life.

The correctness of this statement is perhaps most clearly proved by Germany, precisely because in that country constitutional legality lasted and remained stable for a remarkably long time—for nearly half a century (1871-1914)—and Social-Democracy during this period was able to achieve far more in Germany than in other countries in the way of "utilizing legality," and was able to organize a larger proportion of the workers into a political party than anywhere else in the world.

What is this largest proportion of politically conscious and active wage slaves that has so far been observed in capitalist society? One million members of the Social-Democratic Party—out of fifteen million wage-workers! Three million organized in trade unions—out of fifteen million!

Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely into the mechanism of capitalist democracy, everywhere, in the "petty"—so-called petty—details of the suffrage (residential qualification, exclusion of women, etc.), in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of assembly (public buildings are not for "beggars"!), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, etc., etc.,—we see restriction after restriction upon democracy. These restrictions, exceptions, exclusions, obstacles for the poor, seem slight, especially in the eyes of one who has never known want himself and has never been in close contact with the oppressed classes in their mass life (and nine-tenths if not ninety-nine hundredths, of the bourgeois publicists and politicians are of this category); but in their sum total these restrictions exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics, from taking an active part in democracy.

Marx grasped this *essence* of capitalist democracy splendidly, when, in analysing the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed are allowed once every few years to

decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class should represent and repress them in parliament!

But from this capitalist democracy—inevitably narrow, tacitly repelling the poor, and therefore hypocritical and false to the core—forward development does not proceed simply, directly and smoothly to “greater and greater democracy,” as the liberal professors and petty-bourgeois opportunists would have us believe. No, forward development, *i.e.*, towards Communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise, for the *resistance* of the capitalist exploiters cannot be *broken* by anyone else or in any other way.

But the dictatorship of the proletariat, *i.e.*, the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of crushing the oppressors, cannot result merely in an expansion of democracy. *Simultaneously* with an immense expansion of democracy, which *for the first time* becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage slavery; their resistance must be broken by force; it is clear that where there is suppression, where there is coercion, there is no freedom and no democracy.

Engels expressed this splendidly in his letter to Bebel when he said, as the reader will remember, that “so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist.”

Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, *i.e.*, exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the change democracy undergoes during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism.

Only in Communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes (*i.e.*, when there

is no difference between the members of society as regards their relation to the social means of production), *only* then does "the state . . . cease to exist," and it "*becomes possible to speak of freedom.*" Only then will really complete democracy, democracy without any exceptions, be possible and be realized. And only then will democracy begin to *wither away*, owing to the simple fact that freed from capitalist slavery, from the untold horrors, savagery, absurdities and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually *become accustomed* to observing the elementary rules of social intercourse that have been known for centuries and repeated for thousands of years in all copy-book maxims; they will become accustomed to observing them without force, without compulsion, without subordination, *without the special apparatus* for compulsion which is called the state.

The expression "the state *withers away*" is very well chosen, for it indicates both the gradual and the spontaneous nature of the process. Only habit can, and undoubtedly will, have such an effect; for we see around us millions of times how readily people become accustomed to observing the necessary rules of social intercourse if there is no exploitation, if there is nothing that causes indignation, nothing that calls forth protest and revolt or evokes the necessity for *suppression*.

Thus in capitalist society we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false; a democracy only for the rich, for the minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition to Communism, will for the first time create democracy for the people, for the majority, in addition to the necessary suppression of the minority—the exploiters. Communism alone is capable of giving really complete democracy, and the more complete it is the more quickly will it become unnecessary and wither away of itself.

In other words: under capitalism we have a state in the proper sense of the word, that is, a special machine for the suppression of one class by another, and of the majority by the minority at that. Naturally, the successful discharge of such a task as the systematic suppression of the exploited majority by the exploiting minority calls for the greatest ferocity and savagery in the work of suppression, it calls for seas of blood

through which mankind has to wade in slavery, serfdom and wage-labour.

Furthermore, during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism suppression is *still* necessary; but it is now the suppression of the exploiting minority by the exploited majority. A special apparatus, a special machine for suppression, the "state," is *still* necessary, but this is now a transitory state; it is no longer a state in the proper sense; for the suppression of the minority of exploiters by the majority of the wage slaves of *yesterday* is comparatively so easy, simple and natural a task that it will entail far less bloodshed than the suppression of the risings of slaves, serfs or wage-labourers, and it will cost mankind far less. And it is compatible with the extension of democracy to such an overwhelming majority of the population that the need for a *special machine* of suppression will begin to disappear. The exploiters are naturally unable to suppress the people without a very complex machine for performing this task; but *the people* can suppress the exploiters even with a very simple "machine," almost without a "machine," without a special apparatus, by the simple *organization of the armed masses* (such as the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, we may remark, running ahead a little).

Finally, only Communism makes the state absolutely unnecessary, for there is *nobody* to be suppressed—"nobody" in the sense of a *class*, in the sense of a systematic struggle against a definite section of the population. We are not utopians, and we do not in the least deny the possibility and inevitability of excesses on the part of *individual persons*, or the need to suppress *such* excesses. But, in the first place, no special machine, no special apparatus of repression is needed for this; this will be done by the armed people itself, as simply and as readily as any crowd of civilized people, even in modern society, parts two people who are fighting, or interferes to prevent a woman from being assaulted. And, secondly, we know that the fundamental social cause of excesses, which consist of violating the rules of social intercourse, is the exploitation of the masses, their want and their poverty. With the removal of this chief cause, excesses will inevitably begin to "*wither away*." We do not know how quickly and in what order, but we know that

they will wither away. With their withering away the state *will also wither away*.

Without indulging in utopias, Marx defined more fully what can be defined *now* regarding this future, namely, the difference between the lower and higher phases (degrees, stages) of Communist society.

3. THE FIRST PHASE OF COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

In the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx goes into some detail to disprove Lassalle's idea that under Socialism the worker will receive the "undiminished" or "whole proceeds of his labour." Marx shows that from the whole of the social labour of society it is necessary to deduct a reserve fund, a fund for the expansion of production, for the replacement of "used up" machinery, and so on; then, also, from the means of consumption must be deducted a fund for the costs of administration, for schools, hospitals, homes for the aged, and so on.

Instead of Lassalle's hazy, obscure, general phrase ("the whole proceeds of his labour to the worker") Marx makes a sober estimate of exactly how Socialist society will have to manage its affairs. Marx proceeds to make a *concrete* analysis of the conditions of life of a society in which there will be no capitalism, and says:

"What we have to deal with here [in analysing the program of the workers' party] is a Communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundation, but, on the contrary, as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society, from whose womb it emerges"

And it is this Communist society—a society which has just come into the world out of the womb of capitalism and which, in every respect, bears the birthmarks of the old society—that Marx terms the "first," or lower phase of Communist society.

The means of production are no longer the private property of individuals. The means of production belong to the whole of society. Every member of society, performing a certain part of the socially-necessary labour, receives a certificate from

society to the effect that he has done such and such an amount of work. And with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption a corresponding quantity of products. After deduction of the amount of labour which goes to the public fund, every worker, therefore, receives from society as much as he has given it.

"Equality" apparently reigns supreme.

But when Lassalle, having such a social order in view (usually called Socialism, but termed by Marx the first phase of Communism), speaks of this as "equitable distribution," and says that this is "the equal right" of "all members of society" to "equal proceeds of labour," he is mistaken, and Marx exposes his error.

"Equal right," says Marx, we indeed have here; but it is *still* a "bourgeois right," which, like every right, *presupposes inequality*. Every right is an application of an *equal* standard to *different* people who in fact are not alike. are not equal to one another; that is why "equal right" is really a violation of equality and an injustice. As a matter of fact, every man, having performed as much social labour as another, receives an equal share of the social product (after the above-mentioned deductions).

But people are not alike: one is strong, another is weak; one is married, another is not; one has more children, another has less, and so on. And the conclusion Marx draws is:

"... With an equal output and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right, instead of being equal, would have to be unequal..."

Hence, the first phase of Communism cannot yet produce justice and equality; differences, and unjust differences, in wealth will still exist, but the *exploitation* of man by man will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize the *means of production*, the factories, machines, land, etc., as private property. In smashing Lassalle's petty-bourgeois, confused phrases about "equality" and "justice" *in general*, Marx shows the *course of development* of Communist society, which at first is *compelled* to abolish *only* the "injustice" of the means

of production having been seized by private individuals, and which *cannot* at once abolish the other injustice, which consists in the distribution of articles of consumption "according to the amount of labour performed" (and not according to needs).

The vulgar economists, including the bourgeois professors and also "our" Tugan¹ constantly reproach the Socialists with forgetting the inequality of people and with "dreaming" of abolishing this inequality. Such a reproach, as we see, only proves the extreme ignorance of Messieurs the Bourgeois Ideologists.

Marx not only scrupulously takes into account the inevitable inequality of men but he also takes into account the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society (usually called "Socialism") *does not remove* the defects of distribution and the inequality of "bourgeois right" which *continue to prevail* as long as products are divided "according to the amount of labour performed." Continuing, Marx says:

"But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of Communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and the cultural development thereby determined."

And so, in the first phase of Communist society (usually called Socialism) "bourgeois right" is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic transformation so far attained, *i.e.*, only in respect of the means of production. "Bourgeois right" recognizes them as the private property of individuals. Socialism converts them into *common* property. *To that extent*—and to that extent alone—"bourgeois right" disappears.

However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labour among the members of society. The Socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat,"

¹ The reference is to the Russian bourgeois economist M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky (1865-1919) —Ed

is *already* realized; the other Socialist principle: "An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour," is also *already* realized. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish "bourgeois right," which gives to unequal individuals, in return for an unequal (actually unequal) amount of labour, an equal amount of products.

This is a "defect," says Marx, but it is unavoidable in the first phase of Communism; for if we are not to indulge in utopianism, we must not think that having overthrown capitalism people will at once learn to work for society *without any standard of right*; and indeed the abolition of capitalism *does not immediately* create the economic premises for *such a change*.

And there is as yet no other standard than that of "bourgeois right." To this extent, therefore, there is still need for a state, which, while safeguarding the public ownership of the means of production would safeguard equality of labour and equality in the distribution of products.

The state withers away in so far as there are no longer any capitalists, any classes, and, consequently, no *class* can be *suppressed*.

But the state has not yet completely withered away, since there still remains the safeguarding of "bourgeois right," which sanctifies actual inequality. For the complete withering away of the state complete Communism is necessary.

4. THE HIGHER PHASE OF COMMUNIST SOCIETY

Marx continues:

"In a higher phase of Communist society, after the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour, from a mere means of life, has itself become the prime necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"

Only now can we appreciate to the full the correctness of Engels' remarks in which he mercilessly ridiculed the absurdity

of combining the words "freedom" and "state." While the state exists there is no freedom. When there will be freedom, there will be no state.

The economic basis for the complete withering away of the state is such a high stage of development of Communism that the antithesis between mental and physical labour disappears, that is to say, when one of the principal sources of modern *social* inequality disappears—a source, moreover, which cannot be removed immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists.

This expropriation will *facilitate* an enormous development of productive forces. And seeing how capitalism is already *retarding* this development to an incredible degree, seeing how much progress could be achieved even on the basis of the present level of modern technique, we are entitled to say with the fullest confidence that the expropriation of the capitalists will inevitably result in an enormous development of the productive forces of human society. But how rapidly this development will proceed, how soon it will reach the point of breaking away from the division of labour, of removing the antithesis between mental and physical labour, or transforming labour into "the prime necessity of life"—we do not and *cannot* know.

That is why we are entitled to speak only of the inevitable withering away of the state, emphasizing the protracted nature of this process and its dependence upon the rapidity of development of the *higher phase* of Communism, and leaving the question of length of time, or the concrete forms of the withering away, quite open, because there is *no* material for an answer to these questions.

The state will be able to wither away completely when society applies the rule: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," *i.e.*, when people have become so accustomed to observing the fundamental rules of social intercourse and when their labour is so productive that they will voluntarily work *according to their ability*. "The narrow horizon of bourgeois right," which compels one to calculate with the stringency of a Shylock whether one has not worked half an hour more than another, whether one is not getting

less pay than another---this narrow horizon will then be left behind. There will then be no need for society to regulate the quantity of products to be distributed to each; each will take freely "according to his needs."

From the bourgeois point of view, it is easy to declare that such a social order is "a pure utopia" and to sneer at the Socialists for promising everyone the right to receive from society, without any control of the labour of the individual citizen, any quantity of truffles, automobiles, pianos, etc. Even now, most bourgeois "savants" confine themselves to sneering in this way, thereby displaying at once their ignorance and their mercenary defence of capitalism.

Ignorance---for it has never entered the head of any Socialist to "promise" that the higher phase of the development of Communism will arrive; but the great Socialists, in *foreseeing* its arrival, presuppose not the present productivity of labour *and not the present* ordinary run of people, who like the seminary students in Pomyalovsky's stories,¹ are capable of damaging the stocks of social wealth "just for fun" and of demanding the impossible.

Until the "higher" phase of Communism arrives, the Socialists demand the *strictest* control by society *and by the state* of the measure of labour and the measure of consumption; but this control must *start* with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the establishment of workers' control over the capitalists, and must be carried out not by a state of bureaucrats, but by a state of *armed workers*.

The mercenary defence of capitalism by the bourgeois ideologists (and their hangers-on, like Messrs. Tsereteli, Chernov and Co.) lies in their *substituting* controversies and discussions about the distant future for the essential and imperative questions of *present-day* policy, *viz.*, the expropriation of the capitalists, the conversion of *all* citizens into workers and employees of *one* huge "syndicate"---the whole state---and the complete subordination of the whole of the work of this syndi-

¹ The reference here is to N. Pomyalovsky's *Sketches of Seminary Life* in which this Russian novelist exposed the absurd system of education and brutal customs which held sway in the Russian theological schools in the fifties and sixties of the past century.---Ed.

cate to the really democratic state, *the state of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies*.

In reality, when a learned professor, and following him the philistine, and following him Messrs. Tsereteli and Chernov, talk of the unreasonable utopias, of the demagogic promises of the Bolsheviks, of the impossibility of "introducing" Socialism, it is the higher stage or phase of Communism they have in mind, which no one has ever promised or even thought to "introduce," because generally speaking it cannot be "introduced."

And this brings us to the question of the scientific difference between Socialism and Communism, which Engels touched on in his above-quoted argument about the incorrectness of the name "Social-Democrat." The political difference between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of Communism will in time, probably, be tremendous; but it would be ridiculous to take cognizance of this difference now, under capitalism, and only isolated Anarchists, perhaps, could invest it with primary importance (if there are still people among the Anarchists who have learned nothing from the "Plekhanov-ite" conversion of the Kropotkins, the Graveses, the Cornelisens and other "leading lights" of anarchism into social-chauvinists or "anarcho-trenchists," as Ge, one of the few Anarchists who has still preserved a sense of honour and a conscience, has expressed it).

But the scientific difference between Socialism and Communism is clear. What is usually called Socialism was termed by Marx the "first" or lower phase of Communist society. In so far as the means of production become *common* property, the word "Communism" is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that it is *not* complete Communism. The great significance of Marx's explanations is that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics the doctrine of development, and regards Communism as something which develops *out of* capitalism. Instead of scholastically invented, "concocted" definitions and fruitless disputes about words (what is Socialism? what is Communism?), Marx gives an analysis of what may be called the stages in the economic ripeness of Communism.

In its first phase, or first stage, Communism cannot as yet

be fully ripe economically and entirely free from the traditions and traces of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon that Communism in its first phase retains "the narrow horizon of *bourgeois* right." Of course, bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of *consumption* inevitably presupposes the existence of the *bourgeois state*, for right is nothing without an apparatus capable of *enforcing* the observance of the standards of right.

Consequently, not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state for a certain time remains under Communism, without the bourgeoisie!

This may sound like a paradox or simply a dialectical puzzle, of which Marxism is often accused by people who do not take the slightest trouble to study its extraordinarily profound content.

But as a matter of fact, remnants of the old surviving in the new confront us in life at every step, both in nature and in society. And Marx did not arbitrarily insert a scrap of "bourgeois" right into Communism, but indicated what is economically and politically inevitable in a society emerging *from the womb* of capitalism.

Democracy is of great importance to the working class in its struggle for emancipation from the capitalists. But democracy is by no means a boundary that must not be overstepped; it is only one of the stages on the road from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to Communism.

Democracy means equality. The great significance of the proletariat's struggle for equality and the significance of equality as a slogan will be clear if we correctly interpret it as meaning the abolition of *classes*. But democracy means only *formal* equality. And as soon as equality is obtained for all members of society *in relation to* the ownership of the means of production, that is, equality of labour and equality of wages, humanity will inevitably be confronted with the question of going beyond formal equality to real equality, *i.e.*, to applying the rule, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." By what stages, by what practical measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim—we do not and cannot know. But it is important to realize how infinitely

mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of Socialism as something lifeless, petrified, fixed once for all, whereas in reality *only* under Socialism will a rapid, genuine, really mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the population, commence in all spheres of social and personal life.

Democracy is a form of state, one of its varieties. Consequently, it, like every state, on the one hand represents the organized, systematic application of force against persons; but on the other hand it signifies the formal recognition of the equality of all citizens, the equal right of all to determine the structure and administration of the state. This, in turn, is connected with the fact that, at a certain stage in the development of democracy, it first rallies the proletariat as the revolutionary class against capitalism, and enables it to crush, smash to atoms, wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois, even the republican bourgeois, state machine, the standing army, the police and bureaucracy, and to substitute for them a *more* democratic state machine, but a state machine nevertheless, in the shape of the armed masses of workers who are being transformed into a universal people's militia.

Here "quantity is transformed into quality": *such* a degree of democracy implies overstepping the boundaries of bourgeois society, the beginning of its Socialist reconstruction. If, indeed, *all* take part in the administration of the state, capitalism cannot retain its hold. And the development of capitalism, in turn, itself creates the *premises* that really *enable* "all" to take part in the administration of the state. Some of the premises are: universal literacy, which is already achieved in a number of the most advanced capitalist countries, then the "training and disciplining" of millions of workers by the huge, complex, socialized apparatus of the post-office, railways, big factories, large-scale commerce, banking, etc., etc.

Given these *economic* premises it is quite possible, after the overthrow of the capitalists and bureaucrats, to proceed immediately, overnight, to supersede them in the *control* of production and distribution, in the work of *keeping account* of labour and products by the armed workers, by the whole of the armed population. (The question of control and account-

ing must not be confused with the question of the scientifically trained staff of engineers, agronomists and so on. These gentlemen are working today and obey the capitalists; they will work even better to-morrow and obey the armed workers.)

Accounting and control—that is the *main* thing required for the “setting up” and correct functioning of the *first phase* of Communist society. *All* citizens are transformed into the salaried employees of the state, which consists of the armed workers. *All* citizens become employees and workers of a *single* national state “syndicate.” All that is required is that they should work equally—do their proper share of work—and get paid equally. The accounting and control necessary for this have been *simplified* by capitalism to an extreme and reduced to the extraordinarily simple operations—which any literate person can perform—of checking and recording, knowledge of the four rules of arithmetic, and issuing receipts.¹

When the *majority* of the people begin independently and everywhere to keep such accounts and maintain such control over the capitalists (now converted into employers) and over the intellectual gentry who preserve their capitalist habits, this control will really become universal, general, national; and there will be no way of getting away from it, there will be “nowhere to go.”

The whole of society will have become a single office and a single factory, with equality of labour and equality of pay.

But this “factory” discipline, which the proletariat will extend to the whole of society after the defeat of the capitalists and the overthrow of the exploiters, is by no means our ideal, or our ultimate goal. It is but a necessary *step* for the purpose of thoroughly purging society of all the hideousness and foulness of capitalist exploitation, *and for further progress.*

From the moment all members of society, or even only the vast majority, have learned to administer the state *themselves*, have taken this business into their own hands, have “set up”

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¹ When most of the functions of the state are reduced to this accounting and control by the workers themselves, it will cease to be a “political state” and the “public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into simple administrative functions”

control over the insignificant minority of capitalists, over the gentry who wish to preserve their capitalist habits, and over the workers who have been profoundly corrupted by capitalism --from this moment the need for government begins to disappear altogether. The more complete democracy, the nearer the moment approaches when it becomes unnecessary. The more democratic the "state" which consists of the armed workers, and which is "no longer a state in the proper sense of the word," the more rapidly does *every form* of the state begin to wither away.¹

¹ Continuing and developing the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state in the new historical situation, Comrade Stalin formulated the theory of the Socialist state and its tasks under the conditions of victorious Socialism and the building of Communism.

In his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the work of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Stalin said:

"... Lenin wrote his famous book, *The State and Revolution*, in August 1917, that is, a few months before the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet state. Lenin considered it the main task of this book to defend Marx's and Engels' doctrine of the state from the distortions and vulgarizations of the opportunists. Lenin was preparing to write a second volume of *The State and Revolution*, in which he intended to sum up the principal lessons of the experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. There can be no doubt that Lenin intended in the second volume of his book to elaborate and develop the theory of the state on the basis of the experience gained during the existence of Soviet power in our country. Death, however, prevented him from carrying this task into execution. But what Lenin did not manage to do should be done by his disciples.

"The state arose because society split up into antagonistic classes, it arose in order to keep in restraint the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority. The instruments of state authority have been mainly concentrated in the army, the punitive organs, the espionage service, the prisons. Two basic functions characterize the activity of the state: at home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other states, or to defend the territory of its own state from attack by other states. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism.

"In order to overthrow capitalism it was not only necessary to remove the bourgeoisie from power, it was not only necessary to expropriate the capitalists, but also to smash entirely the bourgeois state machine and its old army, its bureaucratic officialdom and its police force, and to substitute for it a new, proletarian form of state, a new, Socialist state. And that, as we know, is exactly what the Bolsheviks did. But it does not follow that the new proletarian state may not preserve certain functions of the old state, changed to suit the requirements of the proletarian

For when *all* have learned to administer and actually do administer social production independently, independently keep accounts and exercise control over the idlers, the gentle-folk, the swindlers and similar "guardians of capitalist traditions," the escape from this national accounting and control will inevitably become so incredibly difficult, such a rare ex-

state. Still less does it follow that the forms of our Socialist state must remain unchanged, that all the original functions of our state must be fully preserved in future. As a matter of fact, the forms of our state are changing and will continue to change in line with the development of our country and with the changes in the international situation.

"Lenin was absolutely right when he said:

"The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same: in one way or another, in the final analysis, all these states are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to Communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but their essence will inevitably be the same: the *dictatorship of the proletariat*." (*The State and Revolution*.)

"Since the October Revolution, our Socialist state has passed through two main phases in its development.

"The first phase was the period from the October Revolution to the elimination of the exploiting classes. The principal task in that period was to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes, to organize the defence of the country against the attack of the interventionists, to restore industry and agriculture, and to prepare the conditions for the elimination of the capitalist elements. Accordingly, in this period our state performed two main functions. The first function was to suppress the overthrown classes inside the country. In this respect our state bore a superficial resemblance to previous states whose functions had also been to suppress recalcitrants, with the fundamental difference, however, that our state suppressed the exploiting minority in the interests of the labouring majority, while previous states had suppressed the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority. The second function was to defend the country from foreign attack. In this respect it likewise bore a superficial resemblance to previous states, which also undertook the armed defence of their countries, with the fundamental difference, however, that our state defended from foreign attack the gains of the labouring majority, while previous states in such cases defended the wealth and privileges of the exploiting minority. Our state had yet a third function: this was the work of economic organization and cultural education performed by our state bodies with the purpose of developing the infant shoots of the new, Socialist economic system and re-educating the people in the spirit of Socialism. But this new function did not attain to any considerable development in that period.

"The second phase was the period from the elimination of the capitalist elements in town and country to the complete victory of the Socialist economic system and the adoption of the new Constitution. The principal

ception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment (for the armed workers are practical men and not sentimental intellectuals, and they will scarcely allow anyone to trifle with them), that very soon the *necessity* of observing the simple, fundamental rules of human intercourse will become a *habit*.

And then the door will be wide open for the transition from the first phase of Communist society to its higher phase, and with it to the complete withering away of the state.

• August-September 1917

task in this period was to establish the Socialist economic system all over the country and to eliminate the last remnants of the capitalist elements, to bring about a cultural revolution, and to form a thoroughly modern army for the defence of the country. And the functions of our Socialist state changed accordingly. The function of military suppression inside the country ceased, died away; for exploitation had been abolished, there were no more exploiters left, and so there was no one to suppress. In place of this function of suppression the state acquired the function of protecting Socialist property from thieves and pilferers of the people's property. The function of defending the country from foreign attack fully remained; consequently, the Red Army and the Navy also fully remained, as did the punitive organs and the intelligence service, which are indispensable for the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services. The function of economic organization and cultural education by the state organs also remained, and was developed to the full. Now the main task of our state inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organization and cultural education. As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence service, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country but to the outside, against external enemies.

"As you see we now have an entirely new, Socialist state, without precedent in history and differing considerably in form and functions from the Socialist state of the first phase.

"But development cannot stop there. We are going ahead, towards Communism. Will our state remain in the period of Communism also?

"Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our state will again change in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad.

"No, it will not remain and will atrophy if the capitalist encirclement is liquidated and a Socialist encirclement takes its place.

"That is how the question stands with regard to the Socialist state."
I. Stalin *Problems of Leninism*, Eng. ed., Moscow, 1945, pp. 635-38.—Ed.

MARXISM AND INSURRECTION

A LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.I.P.

One of the most vicious and probably most widespread distortions of Marxism practised by the prevailing "Socialist" parties consists in the opportunist lie that preparations for insurrection and generally the treatment of insurrection as an art are "Blanquism."

Bernstein, the leader of opportunism, has already earned himself a wretched notoriety by accusing Marxism of Blanquism, and when our present-day opportunists cry Blanquism they do not improve on or "enrich" the meagre "ideas" of Bernstein one jot.

Marxists are accused of Blanquism for treating insurrection as an art! Can there be a more flagrant perversion of the truth, when not a single Marxist will deny that it was Marx who expressed himself on this score in the most definite, precise and categorical manner, inasmuch as it was Marx who called insurrection precisely an *art*, saying that it must be treated as an art, that the first success must be won, and that one must proceed from success to success, never ceasing the *offensive* against the enemy, taking every advantage of his confusion, etc., etc.?

To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon the rising revolutionary spirit of the people. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon the *crucial moment* in the history of the growing revolution, when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks

of the enemies and *in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest. That is the third point. And these three conditions in the attitude towards insurrection distinguish *Marxism from Blanquism*.

But when these conditions are operating it is a betrayal of Marxism and a betrayal of the revolution to refuse to treat insurrection as an *art*.

In order to show that the present moment is one in which the Party is *obliged* to admit that *insurrection* has been placed upon the order of the day by the whole course of objective events, and that it must treat insurrection as an art, it will perhaps be best to use the method of comparison, and to draw a parallel between July 3-4¹ and the September days.

On July 3-4 it was possible to argue, without transgressing against the truth, that the right thing to do was to take power, for our enemies would in any case accuse us of rebellion and treat us like rebels. However, the conclusion that we could have seized power at that time would have been wrong, because the objective conditions for a successful insurrection did not exist.

1) We still lacked the support of the class which is the vanguard of the revolution.

We still did not have a majority among the workers and soldiers of the capitals. Now, we have a majority in both Soviets. It was created *solely* by the history of July and August, by the experience of the "ruthless treatment" meted

¹ The reference is to the spontaneous mass demonstrations of workers and soldiers of the Petrograd garrison which took place in Petrograd on July 3-4, 1917, demanding the transfer of power to the Soviets. Notwithstanding the pacific character of the demonstrations the bourgeois Provisional Government, in which the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries participated, brought out troops which had been recalled from the front, against the demonstrators. After suppressing the demonstrations the Provisional Government, headed by the Socialist-Revolutionary Kerensky, began to persecute the Bolshevik Party, closed down the Bolshevik newspapers, including the central Party organ, the *Pravda*, issued a warrant for the arrest of Lenin, who was forced to go into hiding, and arrested a number of prominent Party leaders. However, the Party succeeded even under these trying conditions in preparing the victory of the proletarian revolution in October 1917 -Ed.

out to the Bolsheviks, and by the experience of the Kornilov affair.¹

2) There was no nation-wide rising revolutionary spirit at that time. There is that now, after the Kornilov affair, as is proved by the situation in the provinces and by the seizure of power by the Soviets in many localities.

3) At that time there was no *vacillation* on any serious political scale among our enemies and among the irresolute petty bourgeoisie. Now the vacillation is enormous. Our main enemy, Allied and world imperialism (for world imperialism is being led by the "Allies"), *has begun to waver* between a war to a victorious finish and a separate peace directed against Russia. Our petty-bourgeois democrats, having clearly lost their majority among the people, have begun to vacillate enormously, and have rejected a bloc, *i.e.*, a coalition, with the Cadets.

4) Therefore, an insurrection on July 3-4 would have been a mistake: we could not have retained power either physically or politically. We could not have retained it physically in spite of the fact that at certain moments Petrograd was in our hands, because at that time our workers and soldiers would not have *fought and died* for the possession of Petrograd. There was not at that time that "savageness," nor that fierce hatred *both of the Kerenskys and of the Tseretelis and Chernovs*. Our people had not yet been tempered by the experience of the persecution of the Bolsheviks in which the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks participated.

We could not have retained power politically on July 3-4 because *before the Kornilov affair* the army and the provinces might have, and would have, marched against Petrograd.

The picture is now entirely different.

We have the following of the majority of a *class*, the vanguard of the revolution, the vanguard of the people, which is capable of carrying the masses with it.

¹ The reference is to the counter-revolutionary venture in August-September 1917, undertaken by General Kornilov to crush the revolution, abolish the Soviets and set up a military dictatorship. It was only due to the energetic measures of the Bolshevik Party, which headed the armed resistance to the counter-revolution, that the Kornilov revolt was crushed.—*Ed.*

We have the following of the *majority* of the people, for Chernov's resignation, while by no means the only symptom, is the most striking and obvious symptom that the peasantry *will not receive land* from the Socialist-Revolutionaries' bloc (or from the Socialist-Revolutionaries themselves). And that is the chief reason for the popular character of the revolution.

We have the advantageous position of a party that firmly knows the path it must follow, whereas *imperialism as a whole* and the bloc of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries are vacillating incredibly.

Our victory is assured, for the people are bordering on desperation and we are showing the people a sure way out; for during the "Kornilov days" we demonstrated to the people the value of our leadership, and then we *proposed* to the politicians of the bloc a compromise, *which they rejected*, although their vacillations continued unremittingly.

It would be a sheer mistake to think that our offer of a compromise has not *yet* been rejected, and that the "Democratic Conference"¹ may *still* accept it. The compromise was proposed by a *party to parties*; it could not have been proposed in any other way. It was rejected by *parties*. The Democratic Conference is a *conference*, and nothing more. One thing must not be forgotten, namely, that the *majority* of the revolutionary people, the poor and embittered peasantry, are not represented in it. It is a conference of a *minority of the people*—that obvious truth must not be forgotten. It would be a sheer mistake, it would be sheer parliamentary cretinism on our part, were we to regard the Democratic Conference as a parliament; for even if it *were* to proclaim itself a parliament, and the sovereign parliament of the revolution, it would *not decide* anything. The power of decision lies *outside it*; it lies in the working-class quarters of Petrograd and Moscow.

¹ After the Kornilov revolt had been crushed (see footnote to p. 366) the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries made another attempt to weaken the rising revolutionary temper of the masses by convening, in September 1917, the so-called All-Russian Democratic Conference. The Conference set up a Provisional Council of the Republic, known as the Pre-parliament. This hopeless attempt to divert the country from the path of a Soviet revolution to the path of bourgeois parliamentarism ended in a complete fiasco.—Ed.

At the objective conditions for a successful insurrection exist. We have the advantage of a situation in which *only* our success in the insurrection can put an end to that most painful thing on earth, vacillation, which has worn the people out; a situation in which *only* our success in the insurrection can foil the game of a separate peace directed against the revolution by publicly proposing a fuller, juster and earlier peace to the benefit of the revolution.

Finally, our Party alone can, by a successful insurrection, save Petrograd: for if our proposal for peace is rejected, if we do not secure even an armistice, then *we* shall become "defencists," then we shall place ourselves at the head of the war parties, we shall be the "war" party *par excellence*, and we shall fight the war in a truly revolutionary manner. We shall take away all the bread and boots from the capitalists. We shall leave them only crusts, we shall dress them in bast shoes. We shall send all the bread and shoes to the front.

And we shall save Petrograd.

The resources, both material and spiritual, for a truly revolutionary war in Russia are still immense; the chances are a hundred to one that the Germans will grant us at least an armistice. And to secure an armistice now would in itself mean to win the *whole world*.

* * *



Having recognized the absolute necessity of an insurrection of the workers of Petrograd and Moscow to save the revolution and to save Russia from being "separately" divided up among the imperialists of both coalitions, we must first adapt our political tactics at the Conference to the conditions of the growing insurrection, and, secondly, we must show that our acceptance of Marx's idea that insurrection must be treated as an art is not merely a verbal acceptance.

At the Conference we must immediately set about consolidating the Bolshevik fraction, without striving after numbers, and without fearing to leave the waverers in the camp of the waverers: they are more useful to the cause of the revolution there than in the camp of the resolute and devoted fighters.

